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The Habsburg
Chancery Language
in Perspective

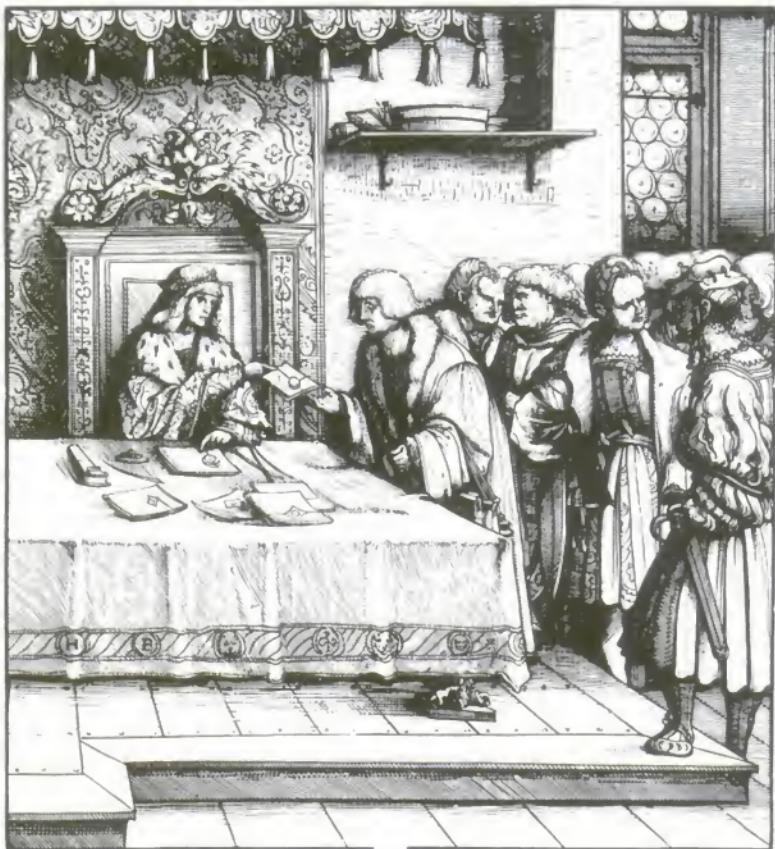
by Elaine C. Tennant

University of California Press

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THE HABSBURG CHANCERY LANGUAGE IN PERSPECTIVE



Maximilian in the chancery "dictating personally in various languages to a number of his secretaries at the same time." (Caption and illustration from Der Weißkunig; woodcut by Hans Burgkmair.)

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by Elaine C. Tennant

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Preface

The Habsburg chancery language between 1440 and 1519 has been a part of traditional accounts of the emergence of the German common language since histories of the German language began to appear in the eighteenth century. The reasons for its continued inclusion in such works are complicated, the justification debatable. Until recently the absence of pertinent linguistic and extralinguistic data exempted the Habsburg chancery language from the sort of reconsideration other factors in the development of the German Hochsprache have undergone repeatedly during the past fifty years. The following study is an attempt to revise the image of the chancery language of Maximilian I that now appears in standard histories of the German language. It falls in the realm of the history of linguistics or the historiography of the German language, not paleography or historical linguistics. During the past decade considerable new material on the subject has become available. It not only clarifies the role of the chancery dialect in the development of the German language, but it also sheds interesting light on the state of linguistic thinking in Renaissance Germany and on a variety of related circumstances that appear to have affected the way in which the German language was evolving at the turn of the sixteenth century.

In 1977 Hans Moser and I each investigated aspects of the Habsburg chancery language. Moser's meticulous graphemic study was intended to explain the involved administrative relationships of

Maximilian's chancery organization, characterize the scribal practice of the chancery, and provide legitimate source material for other investigations of the chancery language. It is the first significant contribution to the linguistic scholarship on the Habsburg chanceries to have been published since Friedrich Kluge's Von Luther bis Lessing appeared in 1888, and for the most part it achieves each of its aims admirably. My 1977 Harvard dissertation focused on the Habsburg chancery language as a commonplace in the history of the German language. It attempted to account for and evaluate what have become traditional claims about the chancery dialect and those who wrote it. Like Moser I worked from original chancery manuscripts. My corpus of sample texts, which was considerably smaller than his, was selected specifically to substantiate or refute the assertions that had been put forward in the standard handbooks and banner articles on the history of the German language rather than to provide a general characterization of the language based on a large cross section of documents for use in future studies. My research was successful to the extent that it cleared away some scholarly debris that had distorted the role of Maximilian's chancery dialect in the development of the German common language. It fell short of answering several of the questions it raised, however, because of the lack of specific historical evidence.

Since 1977 several new studies have appeared and several earlier ones have come to my attention that provide some of this missing information. They include Christa Kohlweg's 1978 Graz dissertation on Niclas Ziegler, Martin Wierschin's 1976 research on Hans Ried, and Herrad Spilling's 1978 essay on late medieval German writing masters, as well as R. E. Keller's treatment of Gemeines Deutsch in his 1978 history of the German language, recent research by Erich Straßner and Robert Ebert on educational techniques in late medieval Germany, and more recently Klaus Mattheier's 1981 essay concerning trends in research on the Early New High German (ENHG) written languages. Although these investigations do not solve all the remaining problems associated with the Habsburg chancery language, they do permit a substantial reassessment of its role in the history of the German

language and of the sociolinguistic environment in which it was written.

To date the results of this recent research have not been combined with Moser's analysis of the chancery language to provide a more balanced picture of Maximilian's chancery dialect in the context of its linguistic and political history. In doing so I hope to eliminate some of the questions that have produced confusion in earlier accounts of the Habsburg language and to point up broader issues in ENHG scholarship that remain to be resolved in other investigations. Portions of the text are adapted from my dissertation and some material is included from my 1981 essay on Niclas Ziegler. For the most part I have adopted Hans Moser's description of the chancery language as developed in his monograph, although I have occasionally offered explanations more in accordance with the results of my own research for phenomena he identifies. For the convenience of the reader I have at many places in the text translated into English run-in quotations from original German sources. These and the other translations in the study are my own unless otherwise noted. In most cases the original text either follows the translation in parentheses or it appears in a note.

I am most grateful to the Austrian-American Educational Commission (Fulbright Commission) and to the Marion and Jasper Whiting Foundation for awarding me the fellowships that supported my initial research on the chancery of Maximilian I, and to the University of California at Berkeley for the Career Development and annual research grants that have allowed me to complete this manuscript. I could not have begun the manuscript work for the project without the gracious and expert assistance of the Maximilian research group at the University of Graz and the staffs of the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv and of the manuscript collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, as well as that of the Tiroler Landesregierungsarchiv in Innsbruck. Most particularly, however, I wish to thank those individuals who have given to me so generously of their advice, skills, and resources so that I might develop some sense of Maximilian's

chancery and its language—Professor Hermann Wiesflecker and his associates Drs. Ingeborg Friedhuber and Peter Krendl of the University of Graz, and Hofrat Anna Benna of the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv.

Abbreviations

<u>AAWien</u>	<u>Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien</u>
<u>ADA</u>	<u>Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</u>
<u>ADB</u>	<u>Allgemeine deutsche Biographie</u>
<u>AÖG</u>	<u>Archiv für österreichische Geschichte</u>
<u>ArchZ</u>	<u>Archivalische Zeitschrift</u>
<u>BGDSL</u>	<u>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Tübingen)</u>
<u>BGDSL (Halle)</u>	<u>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (Halle)</u>
<u>BNGÖst</u>	<u>Beiträge zur neueren Geschichte Österreichs</u>
<u>CUG</u>	Central Upper German
<u>DLZ</u>	<u>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</u>
<u>DU</u>	<u>Der Deutschunterricht</u>
<u>DVLG</u>	<u>Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte</u>
<u>EMG</u>	East Middle German
<u>ENHG</u>	Early New High German
<u>EUG</u>	East Upper German
<u>GRM</u>	<u>Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift</u>
<u>HHSAs</u>	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna
<u>HJb</u>	<u>Historisches Jahrbuch</u>
<u>JbKhS</u>	<u>Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses</u>
<u>LG</u>	Low German

MG	Middle German
<u>MGS</u>	<u>Michigan Germanic Studies</u>
MHG	Middle High German
<u>MIÖG</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung</u>
NHG	New High German
<u>NumZ</u>	<u>Numismatische Zeitschrift</u>
OHG	Old High German
SB	South Bavarian
SEG	Southeast German
TLA	Tiroler Landesregierungsarchiv, Innsbruck
UG	Upper German
<u>VL</u>	<u>Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon</u>
WA	Weimarer Ausgabe (Luther)
WMG	West Middle German
WMR	Wiesflecker Maximilian Regesta
WUG	West Upper German
<u>WW</u>	<u>Wirkendes Wort</u>
<u>WZUJ</u>	<u>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena</u>
<u>ZDA</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur</u>
<u>ZDP</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie</u>
<u>ZGL</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik</u>
<u>ZMF</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung</u>
<u>ZHVSteierm</u>	<u>Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Steiermark</u>
<u>ZVThürG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift des Vereins für thüringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde</u>

INTRODUCTION

Since the nineteenth century the late medieval chancery languages have been a traditional part of accounts of the emergence of the German common language. While various chanceries have for a time been considered particularly significant in this development, only to recede in importance as the orientations in research changed, the chanceries of the Wettin Elector Frederick the Wise and the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian I were considered influential from the outset and have withstood most of the intervening vicissitudes of scholarship. The general interest of the first generations of Germanic philologists in chancery languages as well as the continuing reputation of these two particular chanceries can be attributed directly to this much-discussed statement of Martin Luther's:

'Ich habe keine gewisse, sonderliche, eigene Sprache im Deutschen, sondern brauche der gemeinen deutschen Sprache, daß mich beide, Ober- und Niederländer verstehen mögen. Ich rede nach der sächsischen Canzeley, welcher nachfolgen alle Fürsten und Könige in Deutschland; alle Reichsstädte, Fürsten-Höfe schreiben nach der sächsischen und unsers Fürsten Canzeley, darum ists auch die gemeinste deutsche Sprache. Kaiser Maximilian, und Kurf. Friedrich, H. zu Sachsen etc. haben im römischen Reich die deutschen Sprachen also in eine gewisse Sprache gezogen.'¹

No matter how the debates have raged over spoken versus written language, the transmission routes of chancery practices, linguistic standards versus customs, the linguistic climate of sixteenth-century Germany, and, not least of all, Luther's personal role in shaping the

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German common language, the fact that Luther claims a chancery language as the basis for his own German and that he credits Frederick the Wise and Maximilian with the unification of that language is inescapable.

That Luther himself provides the riddle of the roles of the Wettin and Habsburg chancery languages in the evolution of the German common language accounts for both the continuing pursuit of these questions by historians of the German language and the uneven manner in which these scholars have pursued them. The earliest histories of the German language both romanticized and politicized Luther's extraordinary individual contribution to the development of the modern German language. This resulted in a less than critical view of Luther's own pronouncements on language and a great enthusiasm for the investigation of the language of Luther's own works and of the East Middle German (EMG) chancery he held up for emulation. The first wave of Germanic philologists, who are to a great extent responsible for setting the perimeters of ensuing investigations of the late medieval German chancery languages, were for the most part North German Protestants. They associated the New High German (NHG) language directly and emotionally with the Reformation and with Martin Luther himself. The following statement from the preface to the first edition of Jakob Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik (1819) is illustrative of this attitude:

Man darf das neuhochdeutsche in der that als den protestantischen dialect bezeichnen, dessen freiheitathmende natur längst schon, ihnen unbewusst, dichter und schriftsteller des katholischen glaubens überwältigte. Unsere sprache ist, nach dem unaufhaltbaren laufe aller dinge, in lautverhältnissen und formen gesunken, meine schilderung neuhochdeutscher buchstaben und flexionen durfte es nicht verhehlen sondern hervorheben; was aber ihren geist und leib genährte, verjüngt, was endlich blüthen neuer poesie getrieben hat, verdanken wir keinem mehr, als luthern.²

The nineteenth-century linguists did not develop a similar enthusiasm for investigating the second half of Luther's statement, in which he credits Maximilian equally with his patron, the Saxon Elector, with having shaped the language in which he worked. This is easy to explain. Not only were these early philologists interested

primarily in the language of Luther, whose personal role in the emergence of the modern German language they rather misinterpreted, but they were also interested in what eventually became the stock of the modern common language. Because they could construe this to be essentially EMC without reference to the Habsburg chancery dialect, investigation of the Imperial chancery language was long neglected. Also, Maximilian was a generation older than Luther and was dead before the Reformation had its impact; thus his chancery language could only be tangential to discussions of the "Reformation dialect." Nevertheless, reference to the southern language could not be omitted altogether, because Maximilian had been acclaimed by Luther himself.

Nor is Luther's mention of Maximilian the sole reason why early histories of the German language did make some reference to the Imperial chancery or that later ones continued the practice, even if the descriptions were cursory by comparison with those of the Saxon chancery. In his own lifetime Maximilian deliberately set out to create for himself a legendary reputation that would survive him, and he was remarkably successful in this effort. Long before his death Maximilian had become the stuff of legend and rumor, and immediately after his death he was added to the semimythical cadre of Germanic chivalric figures upon which writers of history and fiction continue to draw.³ The attraction of so colorful a personality for linguistic historians is understandable. Further, the very conditions under which Maximilian's literary and propagandistic projects were executed made his chancery a tempting subject for Germanic philologists. Not only did the Emperor write German literature, but he also had his chancery scribes embellish, rework, and in some cases actually ghostwrite his autobiographical works in the chancery itself. Superficially these circumstances would appear to parallel those under which the cultural languages of France, England, and the Netherlands developed.⁴ For these and other reasons the chancery of Maximilian I has been assured a place in histories of the German language, particularly in those focusing on the intellectual historical, the sociological, or the extralinguistic aspects of the development of German.

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But until very recently the place reserved in ENHG studies for the Upper German (UG) chancery dialects as a group,⁵ and for the Habsburg chancery language in particular, has been small not only in proportion to the emphasis Luther places on Maximilian, but also to the volume of production and the geographic reach of the southern chanceries, particularly the Imperial chancery of the Habsburgs. Many older investigations also fail to take into account the literary and linguistic significance of Upper Germany during the immediately preceding Middle High German (MHG) period. This has been due in part, as suggested above, to the genuine preference of earlier researchers for ENHG subjects that could be related more or less directly to the person and production of Martin Luther.

The more critical reason for the postponement of research on the UG antecedents of Luther's language, however, was a mechanical one. Until Hermann Wiesflecker accepted the commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in 1948 to prepare the Regesta Imperii for the period of Maximilian's reign,⁶ physical access to the manuscripts of the Habsburg chanceries from this period was most difficult, particularly for researchers whose primary discipline was not history. The documents from Maximilian's reign number in the tens of thousands and are scattered, essentially unindexed, in archives throughout Europe. Only with the preparation of the Wiesflecker regesta (WMR) has it become possible to design and locate valid manuscript samples on which to base investigations of Maximilian's chancery language. To date only Hans Moser in his 1977 monograph Die Kanzlei Kaiser Maximilians I.: Graphematisches Schreibabusus,⁷ and I, to a lesser extent, in my Harvard dissertation of the same year, "The Habsburg Chancery Language (1440-1519),"⁸ have made the original manuscript production of Maximilian's chanceries the basis for a linguistic description of the written dialect of the Habsburg chanceries at the turn of the sixteenth century. This means that traditional handbook accounts of Maximilian's Imperial chancery language are all based either on the available external historical material, on the sixteenth-century printed literary texts that can be vaguely associated with Maximilian's

chancery,⁹ or on the few Habsburg Urkunden available in nineteenth-century editions, which are of doubtful use for graphemic, phonological, or orthographic investigations because of the transcriptional conventions of the day.¹⁰

In his 1951 essay on approaches to the history of the German language, Friedrich Maurer cited three orientations that under optimum conditions combine to present a genuine picture of the language's history.¹¹ The first, the "external history of the language" ("die äußere Sprachgeschichte"), concerns itself with the development of the language in space and time; it deals with its distribution and divisions, with linguistic movements, with leveling, and with the language's historical role. Each of these aspects is considered in the more general context of German history. The second approach examines "the internal history of the language" ("die innere Sprachgeschichte") and includes "the intellectual growth of the language, its internal change, the emergence of its worldview" ("das geistige Wachsen der Sprache, ihre innere Veränderung, das Werden ihres Weltbildes"). This more or less intellectual historical approach treats the language's response to a new corpus of ideas. The third possibility is "the history of language structure or language type" ("die Geschichte der Sprachstruktur oder des Sprachtypus"); it examines the phonological, morphological, and syntactic development of the language, although it need not be so comprehensive as an historical grammar.

The great majority of histories of the German language are in these terms "external" histories, and only recently have linguistic historians begun to attempt the synthesis of methodological orientations suggested by Maurer more than thirty years ago.¹² With respect to accounts of the Habsburg chancery language, this combination of orientations has still to take place. The existing handbook descriptions are for the most part "externally" historical and are not based on internal linguistic evidence. Moser's synchronic graphemic analysis of Maximilian's chancery language, on the other hand, may be considered with the histories of language structure or language type. While it is perhaps just the beginning of a total description of the

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written dialect (which might also treat the morphological, syntactic, lexical, and phonological aspects of the language as such), the graphemic study as it stands is completely sufficient to answer most of the technically linguistic questions about the Habsburg chancery language implicit in the Luther statement above and in the handbook descriptions stemming from it.

A number of extralinguistic questions about Maximilian's chancery language remain unresolved, however. These arise from the historical lore that grew up around the written dialect before it had been described adequately; in standard histories of the German language they continue to distort the linguistic historical significance of the chancery language. For this reason and because of the discovery of pertinent new historical evidence during the past six years, it is necessary to turn once again to the external history of the Habsburg chancery, despite the attention it has received previously. This study is an attempt to adjust the external historical picture of the Habsburg chancery language and to reconcile the revised image with the internal graphemic data supplied by Moser's study. Its objective is to clarify the role of Maximilian's chancery language in the evolution of the German Gemeinsprache by considering it within the historical and linguistic context that produced it.

The conditions under which the Habsburg chancery dialect entered the historiography of the German language are different from those surrounding many other traditional subjects in the history of German. Whereas certain historical linguistic phenomena (e.g., umlaut, ablaut) were explained only in retrospect, centuries after their evolution in the language, the emergence of the German common language was a process that was discussed and documented as it was happening during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Similarly, the linguistic activity of Kaiser Maximilian, his chanceries, and his scribes was noted by literati during the period when it is said to have had its historical impact on the German language. This Renaissance German linguistic self-consciousness is one of the most intellectually appealing aspects of the topic at hand, and it must be given special

consideration in evaluating the external history of Maximilian's chancery language. Contemporary observations like the Luther statement above may or may not be accurate from a modern linguistic standpoint, but they cannot be overlooked. Their very existence substantiates the fact that German humanists themselves perceived the distinctive varieties of their written language that have been the subject of modern investigations. These perceptions alone would seem to justify the ongoing research.

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century assertions about the German language must not, however, be taken at face value without allowing for the historical and linguistic context in which they were made. Until recently, much of the relevant Habsburg chancery manuscript material one may consult in this regard was all but inaccessible. And only recently has substantial background material on Maximilian's chancery, its operations, and its personnel come to light. For this reason one must suspect that the nineteenth-century scholars who introduced the Habsburg chancery as a theme in the histories of the German language adopted the sixteenth-century statements about it rather uncritically. This is at least in part true of the subsequent generations who have patterned their accounts after the nineteenth-century descriptions as well. To minimize this sort of historical distortion, the present investigation, in reviewing the traditional handbook material on the Habsburg chancery language, separates contemporary fifteenth- and sixteenth-century assertions from those portions of the accounts originating in the nineteenth century or later. It considers them individually against the expanded backdrop of historical material presented.

The first chapter of this study is essentially historiographic. It takes as its point of departure the image of the Habsburg chancery dialect that has evolved in the histories of the German language and uses this to establish the perimeters of the investigation. Various claims about the chancery language are examined, and specific semantic issues in the scholarship that have obscured the role of the Habsburg chancery language are clarified. The second chapter introduces

historical material not previously considered in examinations of the chancery language, and it reassesses historical information presented in earlier studies. Here the chancery system of Maximilian I is viewed in conjunction with the broader development of the Imperial Chancery (Reichskanzlei) in late medieval Germany, with particular attention paid to the internal procedures and personnel of Maximilian's Court Chancery (Hofkanzlei). The third chapter summarizes the linguistic descriptions of the written dialect now available and examines the manuscript production of individual chancery members. This material is then related to the findings of the earlier chapters in order to present a revised account of the Habsburg chancery language in its historical context.

THE TRADITIONAL ASSESSMENTS OF THE HABSBURG CHANCERY LANGUAGE

THE MODERN ACCOUNTS

The Assertions and the Lore

A new chapter in the development of the Imperial chancery language begins with the election of Frederick Habsburg to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire in 1440. Certain EMG features typical of the production of Charles IV's Prague chancery gradually recede, and over the next eighty years documents from the Habsburg chanceries take on an increasingly UG tone. Although this is hardly surprising in light of the fact that Frederick III's main chancery was at Graz¹³ and Maximilian I's at Innsbruck, both deep in the Austro-Bavarian dialect region, some have seen this increase in UG features as a deliberate attempt by Frederick to reform the language of chancery communication within the Empire. Maximilian has also been credited with a major reform of the Imperial chancery language. As a noted patron of the arts and to some extent as an author in his own right, Maximilian is said to have caused a standardization and streamlining in the language of his chancery, which set the pace for chanceries and printers throughout the Empire. The desirability of a written administrative or business language for the entire Empire (which during Maximilian's reign included Burgundy, Carniola, and large holdings in Italy, as well as the Habsburg ancestral territories in what are now Switzerland and Austria) has caused some historians of the German language to assume Maximilian deliberately created one.

There are nearly thirty handbooks and banner articles on the history of the German language treating the Habsburg chancery dialect,¹⁴ more than eighty percent of them emphasize its external history. Taken together, these descriptions, which are highly derivative and interdependent, account for most of the material on the subject that has become traditional in the history of the German language. The following is a pastiche of the ideas contained in these accounts. It does not reflect the presentation of any single author, and it contains a number of errors. It is, however, an accurate summary of the conventional wisdom on Maximilian's chancery language offered by the handbooks, and it is a good point of departure for a review of the modern scholarship.

With the death of Albrecht II in 1439, the Imperial crown passed to Frederick III and the Leopoldine Habsburgs. The administrative center of the Empire shifted southward, and the chancery that had been in Vienna under Albrecht¹⁵ functioned in Graz, Wiener Neustadt, and Linz as well as Vienna during the various phases of his successor's reign. Under Frederick, the Imperial chancery production showed the Austro-Bavarian linguistic features that have been associated with the Habsburgs, and it is during this period that a deliberate effort was made to eliminate dialectal idiosyncrasies from the official written language. During Maximilian's reign the reforms already in progress became a matter of personal concern both to the Emperor and to certain members of his court. Maximilian, an author himself, commissioned numerous German translations of classical works and had great monuments of MHG literature collected and copied. UG grammars written by Maximilian's circle of literati reflect the linguistic awareness and the trend toward an UG common language that were developing in the Empire at the time. Two of these, lost to us now, are the "Opus grammaticale de lingua germanica certis adstricta legibus" by the distinguished humanist Protonotary Hans Krachenberger and the "Descriptio linguae vulgaris per superiorem Germaniam" by Hofkaplan Ladislaus Sunthaym. More significant than either of these men in his role in shaping the Habsburg chancery language, however, was Chancellor Niclas Ziegler. He has been called the greatest linguistic authority of the period, and his regularized orthography is cited by Eck in the 1536 dedication of his Ingolstadt Bible as a model for emulation. By the end of Maximilian's reign in 1519, sufficient standardization had been achieved in the

chancery language so that all official documents proceeding directly from the Emperor, transmitted in his name, or bearing his seal were written in the same language, regardless of what part of the Empire they originated in—whether Neustadt, Innsbruck, Ghent, Brussels, or Bruges. The unified written language quickly began to make its presence felt within the UG area; other chanceries adopted it, and it became the language of the UG printing centers. The pre-Lutheran HG Bibles were printed in this language. It is called "Gemeines Deutsch," that is, "Common German."

How accurate is this presentation, and how valid from a modern linguistic standpoint are the issues it raises? In the following pages we will consider the individual components of the handbook accounts and their sources and interdependence in order to suggest initial answers to these questions. At the same time we will identify areas in which additional historical evidence is needed to clarify the context of the Habsburg chancery language and will outline the problems to be explored in the remainder of the study.

Terminology

Before proceeding to the traditional material, it is necessary to consider briefly some semantic problems that blur the historical image of the Habsburg chancery language. Most of the terminology used in discussing its significance derives from studies conducted over the past century and a half in which the Habsburg dialect is only an ancillary issue in the investigation of some special topic or relationship in the history of the German language. The titles of but a few of these works suggest their emphases: Schriftsprache und Dialekte im Deutschen (Adolf Socin, 1888); Geschichte der deutschen Literatursprachen (Hans Naumann, 1926); "Die Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Einheitssprache" (Hugo Moser, 1951); "Mundart, Urkundensprache und Schriftsprache" (Rudolf Schützeichel, 1960); Der Weg zur deutschen Nationalsprache (Mirra Guchmann, [1955] 1964). These studies are not primarily concerned with the Habsburg chancery language, but their orientations have had an important effect on thinking about the chancery dialect. From these and similar investigations come a group of designations that have often been used rather casually

in conjunction with the Habsburg chancery language. They fall into two categories. The first are essentially descriptive and simply identify the subject or area of investigation (e.g., "written language," "chancery language"). The second are essentially interpretive and imply certain assumptions about the development of language that are not explained by the terms themselves (e.g., "literary language," "national language," "standard language"). These interpretive designations have somewhat complicated research on the Habsburg chancery language because scholars have occasionally used them differently from the way in which their predecessors did without redefining them. Thus the answers to seemingly simple questions like, Are "Gemeines Deutsch" and "Maximilian's chancery language" synonymous? or, Was the language of Maximilian's chancery a literary language? require rather careful semantic footwork.

Certainly the issues raised by such interpretive terms are of great interest in determining the historical significance of Maximilian's chancery language. They are better considered, however, after the supplementary historical material and the recent descriptions of the dialect itself have been examined. These questions are taken up in the final section of this study.

In the meantime descriptive working definitions are necessary for a survey of the extant scholarship on the subject and an examination of new data. I use the terms "Habsburg chancery language" and "Habsburg chancery dialect" synonymously to mean the language of the diplomatic and literary production of the Habsburg chanceries and their scribes during the reigns of Frederick III and Maximilian I (1440-1519). The Habsburg chancery dialect is a written language. In this usage I overlook the objections of those linguists who insist the English term "language" be applied only to oral utterance and the German term "Mundart" be reserved for the spoken form of a regional dialect; I acknowledge, however, the regional implications of the term "dialect." The language under consideration is identifiably regional, although it does not display all the possible dialectal features of the region to which it is indigenous. The terms

"Maximilian's chancery language" and "Maximilian's chancery dialect" mean the Habsburg chancery language as it was written during Maximilian's reign. I use the term "common language" to mean the dialect or language of a region that through contact with other speech communities undergoes some leveling and ultimately becomes the standard language of a larger area; it covers the German terms "*Gemeinsprache*" and "*Einheitssprache*" but not "*Gemeines Deutsch*." "*Gemeindeutscher*" is a German regional written language that has not yet developed into a common language; at the turn of the sixteenth century there were several varieties of *Gemeindeutscher* (see "*Gemeindeutscher*" below). The term "professional language" is used to indicate the language of the members of a specific profession or the practitioners of a particular art, for example, the language of the Habsburg chancery scribes.

"Gemeines Deutsch"

As indicated above, most of the semantic issues that retard research on the Habsburg chancery language are the product of modern scholarship. One of the most troublesome terms associated with the Habsburg dialect, however, has its roots in the German Renaissance itself: "*Gemeines Deutsch*." In many ways the history of the Habsburg chancery language has been the history of *Gemeines Deutsch* so far as the handbooks are concerned. For various reasons the two issues have been closely connected in the historiography of the German language from its beginnings to the present. Thus it is useful to begin our review of the handbook material on the Habsburg chancery language with an examination of this term.

To this point I have avoided using the term "*Gemeines Deutsch*" (or any of its orthographic variants such as "*die gemeine Teutsch*" or "*die gemeine theutsche*") to refer to the chancery language under investigation. This is because the term has several connotations that have not always been kept distinct by the scholars who have used it. To clarify the matter it is necessary to determine what the term may have meant when it is first attested. As this is well before the reigns of Frederick and Maximilian, one must then discover how the

term came to be associated with the Austrian chancery language and whether or not the association is valid. Finally one must determine how the term has been redefined *de facto* by historians of the German language, who have assigned it a meaning it did not originally have.

Of the many Germanic philologists who use the term "Gemeines Deutsch," four have addressed themselves particularly to the semantic aspects of the issue.¹⁶ The following summary includes their major arguments.

The earliest attestation of "gemain teutsch" reported to date is contained in a statement cited by Stanley Werbow from the foreword of Leopold Stainreuter's translation of Bishop Wilhelm Durandus of Mende's "Rationale divinorum officiorum," dated 1384-85:

Ich wil auch mein teusch nicht reimen vnd wil ez doch
besliezen so ich peste mag mit der chunste slozzen
die da haizzent Rethorica vmb daz ich bei der schrifte
worten beleibe vnd di selbe mazze behalte di in latein
geschriben ist daz si deste minner verdrieze, di fürbaz
werdent lesen daz teusche Racional. Dar vmb sol mich
ewr lautterchait genedich versten ob ich etwenn an dem
ersten secze ain wort oder ainen sinn der in gemainen
teusche an daz leste gehoret oder an daz leste daz ze
vor gehoret, wann daz tün ich nach der ordenung der
schrifte die in latein mit rechter mazze geschriben ist.¹⁷

Werbow notes that Stainreuter uses the term to distinguish between two possible styles of translating Latin into German. The first and more ornate one attempts to reflect Latin style and syntax. The second is "gemain teusch" and from the indications of the passage above features simpler, non-Latinate syntax. Werbow explains that "gemain teusch" in this sense has nothing whatever to do with any sort of standardized language. In this context "gemain teusch" has only stylistic and syntactic implications.

Pursuing this line of stylistic interpretation, Werbow quotes Ulrich von Pottenstein (d. c.1420), Hofkaplan to Albrecht IV in Vienna. "Nu hab ich den gemainen lauf dewtscher sprach nach des lanndes gewonheit für mich genommen." Werbow distinguishes here between Pottenstein's term "gemain," referring to the simple vernacular that featured regular German syntax, and "aigne dewtsch," meaning German of the Latinate style:

Darczu mag sich an allen steten aigne dewtsch nach der latein als sie lawtet vnd nach dem text liget, weder geschikchen noch gefügen; wann umbred bringen an maniger stat in der schrift mer nuzes vor dem gemainen volkch denn aignew deutsch, als es die gelehrten wissen; yedoch also daz die warheit des sinnes mit umbred icht verrucket werde.¹⁸

Werbow's argument here is completely convincing, and one must agree that at the turn of the fifteenth century a possible reading of the term "Gemeines Deutsch" was "stylistically simple German, featuring regular, non-Latinate German syntax."¹⁹

An Austro-Bavarian translation of the life of St. Jerome,¹⁹ recently shown to be the work of the Innsbruck Carthusian Heinrich Haller,²⁰ contains another often-cited reference to "gemainen theutsch":

ich han auch das vorgenant puch verwandlet nach dem text und ettwen nach dem synne und das pracht zuo einer schlechten gemainen theutsch die man wol versten mag, die vernunfft brauchen wöllen; das setz ich herzuo, und han das erleutret, als vil ich han mügen, und sullen.²¹

The phrase has been interpreted variously by the scholars who have considered it since the passage was first published by Ernst Martin in 1880. Relating it to later statements by Aventinus (Johann Turmair) and Luther, Martin contends that this early reference is to a supradialectal language that already existed in Tirol only three years after the printing of the first German book. He says that the term "aine schlechte gemaine theutsch" is in itself sufficient to prove the existence of a common language. Because of the date and location of the term's origin, Martin further asserts that the common language developed independently of the influence of printing.

Paul Pietsch adopts and expands on the same argument.²² He asserts that the formulation "gemeines teutsch" itself indicates the existence of a developed written German language prior to the time when either the language of the chanceries or printing can be considered influential. Referring to the 1464 Haller translation, he says that the language of the text already shows the character of NHG. Pietsch does not further specify which aspects of the Haller

translation he considers to be modern. Later in his discussion he considers lexical changes in early editions of the German Bible and notes that these cannot be the result of the influence of the chancery language. The contribution of a chancery language toward the development of the common language must, according to Pietsch, be limited to phonology, orthography, and perhaps morphology; and even in these areas the chancery influence should not be overrated. A common language, on the other hand, has a different character:

Sehen wir nun die Gemeinsprache mit einer syntaktischen und lexikalischen Physiognomie auftauchen, die gegenüber dem Durchschnitt der früheren Denkmäler des deutschen Schrifttums geändert erscheint, so muss sie diese anderswoher als aus der Kanzleisprache empfangen haben.²³

If this sort of lexically and syntactically developed written language is what Pietsch intended in describing the "Schriftsprache"²⁴ of Haller's 1464 translation, the evidence is rather insubstantial. Similarly, Martin's assumption of the existence of a supradialectal written language on the basis of the phrase "aine schlechte gemaine theutsch" is unconvincing. Pietsch offers criteria for evaluating a written language but does not apply them to Haller's text. Martin does not specify in what sense Haller's "schlechte gemaine theutsch" was a supradialectal language. Although some gradual regularization of East Upper German (EUG) orthography was beginning to occur in the late fifteenth century, there is nothing in Haller's statement to suggest that this is what he meant. To the contrary, the sequence of adjectives "schlecht" and "gemain" modifying "theutsch" suggests instead that the translator in 1464 meant something like "plain simple German" and was not at all concerned with a common language.

Even so, "plain simple German" may be interpreted in two ways. Werbow offers a stylistic syntactic explanation. Hermann Paul (1887), on the other hand, suggests that the term is used to distinguish German from Latin. He further asserts that there is no reason to assume that the translator (Haller) is writing anything other than his native Bavarian and that there is thus no reason to see the text as an example of some sort of UG common language. This too is a

plausible reading of Haller's term. Martin argues correctly that the 1464 translator probably worked directly from a Latin text and not from the earlier German translation by Johann, Bishop of Olmütz.²⁵ This circumstance certainly permits Paul's interpretation.

"Gemeindeutsch"

Before turning to the handbook presentations of Gemeines Deutsch let us consider briefly Arno Schirokauer's discussion of the similar sixteenth-century term "Gemeindeutsch."²⁶ Where "common language" is suggested as an alternative reading of the attestations of "Gemeines Deutsch" cited above, it is the primary issue with the term "Gemeindeutsch." "In seinem Mithridates (Zürich, 1555) schreibt er [Conrad Gesner] das Vaterunser in seine Zürcher Mundart um, wobei er das von ihm angewandte Deutsch als lingua Germanica vel Helvetica bezeichnet." Schirokauer translates Gesner's phrase: "im gemeinen Deutsch [...] und zwar dem schweizerischen."²⁷ At first glance Schirokauer's jump from the term "German language" ("lingua Germanica") to "common German language" ("gemeinesl Deutsch") appears gratuitous. This is because the phrase is misquoted in the article. The phrase in question appears above a Swiss version of the Lord's Prayer in the Mithridates and reads "Oratio dominica in lingua Germanica communi, uel Heluetica" in both the first (1555) edition and in the 1610 edition Schirokauer used.²⁸ This corrected statement taken together with the following remark by Gesner from the preface to Josua Maaler's German-Latin dictionary, Die Teutsch spraach (Zurich, 1561), is the basis for his interpretation of the term "Gemeindeutsch." "A nostra [lingua] quidem, id est, superioris Germanicae, & ueluti cōmuni Germanica lingua, quantūm & in quibus diuersae dialecti differant, pluribus in Mithridate nostro ostendi [...]."²⁹

On the basis of these statements he concludes that Gesner is describing his own UG written dialect as one of several varieties of common German ("Gemeindeutsch"). Gesner's Gemeindeutsch is distinguished from other varieties by dialectal features, although it should not, according to Schirokauer, be confused with either the pure (one infers spoken) dialect or the standard language.

Was er sagen will ist also, daß sein eignes Oberdeutsch, sozusagen und beispielsweise ein Gemeindeutsch, von anderem Gemeindeutsch durch viele Dialekteigentümlichkeiten getrennt sei. Dabei hat das Wort Oberdeutsch regionale, Gemeindeutsch soziale Bedeutung. Gemeindeutsch ist weder die reine Mundart, noch aber die Hochsprache. Sein eigner Zürcher (Schrift-) Dialekt ist ein Beispiel für Gemeindeutsch, er ist sein Gemeindeutsch gleichsam und sozusagen; aber da sind noch andere, und jeder hält seines für das beste.³⁰

The concept of regional written languages was not first proposed by Schirokauer, although his explication of the Gesner passages strengthens arguments for their existence. Konrad Burdach came to the same conclusion in 1884,³¹ only to be refuted by Hermann Paul in the 1887 article mentioned above. Recently, however, scholars have returned to this line of thinking, and the results of their research argue convincingly for the existence of several distinct regional German written languages that evolved before the advent of printing. The number of these languages and their precise descriptions vary according to the investigative orientation of the individual researcher.³² Regardless of these differences, however, there is no longer any doubt that by the fifteenth century regional written languages had developed in German-speaking Europe. One of these was indisputably the language of the Southeast, the Austro-Bavarian region in which the main chanceries of Frederick III and Maximilian functioned.³³

Because our investigation is not concerned with the development of the German common language as such, these regional written languages are of interest here only as they have direct bearing on our understanding of the Habsburg chancery dialect and its significance. In that connection two aspects of the phenomenon are pertinent. First, one of these languages developed in the same geographic region as the chancery dialect of Frederick and Maximilian. Second, as Schirokauer has established, albeit on the basis of Latin texts, "common German language" ("cōmuni Germanica lingua") in sixteenth-century usage may refer to one or more regional written languages, but not to a single written language used in all the dialectal regions, that is, not to a

Hochsprache or standard language. Thus it is possible that other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century references in which "gemein" occurs in combination with "deutsch" imply regional written languages. For evaluating this aspect of both the contemporary and the modern statements about the Habsburg chancery language, the descriptive aspects of Schirokauer's definition are as useful as any developed in more recent studies. The various types of Gemeindeutsch are, according to him, regional, written, not purely dialectal, and not equivalent to a Hochsprache.

Taken together, the above explanations of Gemeines Deutsch and Gemeindeutsch suggest several possibilities that must be considered in reviewing the handbook accounts of the Habsburg chancery language. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century statements where "gemein" occurs in conjunction with "deutsch" it may refer to simple German that does not imitate Latin style or syntax, German versus Latin, or one of several varieties of regional written German. These terms do not on the basis of the contemporary contexts that we have examined to this point imply any deliberate linguistic standardization.

"Gemeines Deutsch" in the Handbook Accounts

Karl Müllenhoff in the second (1864) edition of his Denkmäler states that by the thirteenth century there already existed in Bohemia a language that was a median between the dialects of Meissen and Bavaria. Continuing this discussion, he cites the regular occurrence of Imperial Diets as the main factor in the emergence of an Imperial language in the fifteenth century.

die hauptursache aber für die entstehung einer 'reichssprache' im XV jh. lag gewis in der häufigen, fast regelmäßigen wiederkehr der reichstage. man bedurfte eines 'gemeinen teutsch'. man fieng an sich nach der kaiserlichen kanzlei zu richten und diese sich wiederum in lauten und formen dem allgemeineren gebrauch anzubekommen, wofür der umstand namentlich ins gewicht fallen muste, dass die mehrzahl der angesehensten und mächtigsten reichsfürsten dem sprachgebiet des mittleren Deutschlands angehörte.³⁴

In the very next sentence Müllenhoff begins his explication of the Luther passage quoted in my introduction. The order of events as

Müllenhoff perceives them is: (1) a natural leveling of Bavarian and EMG dialects beginning in the thirteenth century; (2) the development of an Imperial language in response to the need for a common language; (3) the deliberate adoption of the Imperial chancery language as a model; (4) Luther.

Müllenhoff does not explain his term "Reichssprache." Neither does he substantiate the claim that other scriptoria (he implies a written language) patterned their phonology and morphology after that of the Imperial chancery. During the fifteenth century this was a Habsburg chancery. The assumption that Middle German (MG) princes, who were, as Müllenhoff notes, among the most powerful in the Empire, should have deliberately affected the Habsburg chancery language requires further investigation. On the basis of the limited information presented, it is probable that Müllenhoff derives his term "gemeine[s] teutsch" from the Luther passage and construes it to mean a written common language. He offers no evidence, however, that there was any conscious attempt to develop such a common language during the period of Maximilian's influence. Müllenhoff's statement is of particular interest because it suggests a deliberate attempt to create a common language, which he calls "gemeine[s] teutsch," and it equates this with an Imperial language. It is also noteworthy because of the emphasis it places on the Middle German princes. This is the sort of interpretation that has contributed to the preponderance of scholarship on the EMG dialects of the ENHG period.

In 1875 Heinrich Rückert discusses the language of Berthold Piestinger's "Teutsche Theologe" (1528). Although he notes somewhat disparagingly that Piestinger continues to use some "ugly" ("häßlich") Bavarian forms that have been replaced in the Gemeinsprache by MG terms, his overall evaluation of the language is quite positive. "So auch seine Sprache: sie ist klar, vielleicht das geläufigste und sauberste Gemeindeutsch älteren Stils."³⁵ The adjective he uses in this passage to describe the MG terms in the Gemeinsprache is "gemeindeutsch." Whatever meaning "gemeindeutsch" may have had in the sixteenth century, Rückert definitely uses the term to imply a common

language, and apparently one more MG than UG in character. There would certainly be no objection to specific regionalisms, nor would there be discussion of one set of regional forms replacing another, if Rückert were concerned either with German as opposed to Latin or with stylistically simple, syntactically genuine German.

Burdach's 1884 formulation³⁶ is reminiscent of Müllenhoff's but goes beyond it in describing the character of the common language under discussion. Burdach defines a language applicable only to a specific segment of the population and used only for specific purposes. His own suggestion that the language be called a "Staats-sprache" (state or official language) indicates that he considers his "Gemeinsprache" to be a professional language and not what one would ordinarily consider to be a common language. Nevertheless he maintains the term "Gemeinsprache," de facto redefining it to mean a professional language.

Nach dieser Reichssprache der kaiserlichen Kanzlei hatten bald die mitteldeutschen Kanzleien—die östlichen zuerst—sich zu richten angefangen und gegen das Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts entstand so allmählich für ein 'gemeines Deutsch' [...] eine festere Grundlage. [...] Man könnte diese Gemeinsprache ganz gut eine Staatssprache heissen: sie galt jedesfalls zunächst und viel mehr im öffentlichen Verkehr des States und der Privatleute mit diesem, es war eine Sprache der Beamten und des Geschäfts, aber keine des Hauses, der Familie, des geselligen Umgangs.³⁷

Since Burdach cites Gesner's statements from both the Mithri-dates (1610 edition) and the introduction to Josua Maaler's Wörter-buch discussed above,³⁸ these are probably the source of his Gemein-sprache concept. He comes to much the same conclusion as Schirokauer, positing the existence of three different common languages—Swiss, Bavarian, and Swabian—in the UG area. He considers each of these to be distinct "from the concept of a general UG language" ("von dem Begriff einer allgemeinen oberdeutschen Sprache"). What Burdach means by this last category is difficult to tell. Perhaps he is attempting to distinguish between the regional common languages he describes and a common language in the modern sense of the term. In any event there

is the same sort of tendency here to blend sixteenth-century terminology and modern linguistic principles as in the Müllenhoff and Rückert passages above.

In his discussion of Maximilian and his chancery, Friedrich Kluge (1888) cites Johann Eck's Ingolstadt Bible (1537)³⁹ as a particularly significant example of the influence of the Imperial chancery and its linguistic standards. "Ein Denkmal vergegenwärtigt uns in besonders schlagender Weise die Bedeutung der Maximilianischen Kanzlei und ihre Normen. Es ist Ecks katholische Bibel (Ingolstadt 1537), der Luthers Übersetzung, zumeist in der Emserschen Überarbeitung, zu Grunde liegt."⁴⁰ This statement is based on Eck's own acknowledgment of the linguistic authority of Maximilian's chancellor Niclas Ziegler. The Bible is dedicated to the politically powerful Archbishop of Salzburg, Matthäus Lang, who had during Maximilian's reign been one of the most influential men in the chancery coterie immediately surrounding the Emperor. He served in the chancery contemporaneously with Ziegler and was thus utterly familiar with chancery business and procedures. In the letter of dedication dated 1536, Eck writes to Lang that he has tried in his translation to write German properly and with the standardized orthography instituted by the estimable Niclas Ziegler. He disclaims responsibility, however, for the orthography of the printed text, saying that his own consistent orthography has not always been preserved in the printing.

For this investigation the Eck passage is second in importance only to the remark from Luther's Tischrede quoted above. It is one of very few sixteenth-century statements that traces a distinctive manner of writing directly to Maximilian's chancery, and it is the only surviving sixteenth-century reference to Ziegler's role in crafting this written language:

So auch etwas an rechter form zu schreiben vnd ortographei
gelegen im teütschen: hab ich mich deren geflossen nach
rechter art/ grund/ kunst/ vnd vrsach/ vnd mich die gmain
Cantzler schreiber nit jrren lassen/ die lützel auf-
merckens vnd Judici darauf haben/ wie dan treffenlich
Herr Niclas Ziegler/ bei Kaiserlicher Maiestet hohlob-
licher vnd vntßädtlicher gedächtnuß Kaiser Maximilian/

das teütsch nach rechter art vnd regulierter ortographi
herfür bracht hat: wie sollichs E.F.G. als do zemal
fürnämsten K.M. Rat am hof/ baß bewiſt/ dan ich anzaigen
kan: So ist doch im truck die ortographei. Die ich für
bestendig geacht/ nit allweg gehalten worden: deßhalb
ich nit vil dar von disputieren will.⁴¹

In the phrase "die gmain Cantzler schreiber," Eck uses the term "gmain" to distinguish the "'common' (ordinary, run-of-the-mill)" chancery scribes and their writing habits from those of the Emperor's chancery as exemplified by Niclas Ziegler. The common scribes referred to here are presumably the public notaries, Schreibmeister, or Rechenmeister of the cities; the secretaries of the lesser noble courts; or the scribes who served members of either of these groups in the UG area (see "The Imperial Chancery Ordinance [Reichskanzleiordnung] of 1494" and "The Training of Chancery Personnel," chapter 2). Apparently the language written in Maximilian's chancery was perceptibly different to Eck from the German written elsewhere in the region. In what ways he found it to be distinctive is a moot point. The passage itself suggests that Eck may be speaking about nothing more than orthography. On the other hand, writing "nach rechter art/ grund/ kunst/ vnd vrsach" may have implied something more than orthography in the modern sense of the word. To speculate more accurately about what Eck may have meant requires a broader look at the linguistic climate of Germany in the early sixteenth century. The discussion below of Luther's remarks on the German language and of Fabian Frangk's Orthographia (see "Luther's Tischreden WA I, 524 and WA V, 511" and "Fabian Frangk's Orthographia") suggests which features these contemporaries of Eck's considered to be characteristic of the written German language they describe. Their observations provide a basis for interpreting Eck's statement.

In considering Eck's text as a whole, Kluge finds that it shows many phonological features that are common to the entire Austro-Bavarian region of Upper Germany. "Für Eck ist der bayrisch-Österreichische Vokalismus maßgebend; er schreibt nach gemein oberdeutscher Weise Brüder, güt, thün [...]." Similarly he notes, "Das

allgemeine oberdeutsche Gesetz, das die auslautenden e vernichtet, hält Eck ein [. . .]." Kluge also observes that Eck's use of certain verb forms, pronouns, lexical items, and orthographic conventions makes the language of his Bible distinctively UG and readily distinguishable from Luther's MG.⁴² On the basis of this sort of analysis he comes to somewhat hasty conclusions about "not only the regulation but also the dissemination of a modern language" under Maximilian.⁴³

Adolf Socin, writing in the same year as Kluge (1888), refers to the (Haller) translation of the life of St. Jerome (1464) mentioned in the section "*Gemeines Deutsch*" above and concludes, "Der Ausdruck 'das gemeine Deutsch' bezeugt allein schon das Vorhandensein einer Über den Dialekten stehenden Sprache."⁴⁴ How different this is from Kluge's formulation of a "common UG manner" ("gemein oberdeutsche Weise") of writing. Where Kluge speaks of "the common UG rule" ("das allgemeine oberdeutsche Gesetz"), he does this apparently on the basis of the phonological evidence he is able to extrapolate from the texts; Socin, on the other hand, assumes this sort of evidence on the basis of a fifteenth-century phrase, which had by the nineteenth century come to connote something quite different. Socin continues his discussion of this Gemeinsprache saying that it was taken over by the printers of Augsburg and Nuremberg. Certainly the printers of the Danube Basin did adapt the indigenous regional forms of written German, but these were not the sort of unified common language Socin suggests with his interpretation of the phrase "das gemeine Deutsch."

Virgil Moser in 1909 addresses himself not only to the issues of the emergence of a relatively common written language in Upper Germany, but also to the semantic problem that has arisen in trying to describe it.

Diese kurze skizzierung hat gezeigt, wie am ende des mittelalters die kanzleien Ober- und Mitteldeutschlands, während sie zuerst ihre eigenen wege gegangen, einer annäherung an die amtssprache des kaisers wenigstens in grossen zügen zustreben und so zu einer grösseren einheitlichkeit untereinander gelangen. Diesen allerdings ziemlich relativen typus einer einheit bezeichnen wir heute [. . .] mit einem

gleichzeitigen, freilich etwas schief gebrauchten ausdruck
als G e m e i n d e u t s c h.⁴⁵

It is not clear why Moser suggests that the outlying chanceries deliberately began patterning their written languages after that of the Imperial chancery. This is a frequently proffered explanation of the leveling perceptible in fifteenth-century written documents from Upper and Middle Germany which continues through the time of Luther. The solution is plausible, but to date there is little direct evidence to indicate that other scriptoria consciously affected the writing practices of the Habsburg chanceries. One must also ask which general features ("grosse züge") of the Imperial chancery language other chanceries are supposed to have imitated—orthography, diction, format?

Having suggested that there are difficulties with the term "Gemeindeutsch," Moser uses "gemeines Deutsch" in the remainder of his discussion. As he uses it, there is little difference between the two. Moser proceeds from an assumption rather like Werbow's discussed in the section "'Gemeines Deutsch'" above; he acknowledges that the term commonly connotes error, but he recognizes that it has become so fundamental a part of the scholarship on the topic that he uses it himself. When Moser says that the Strassburg printers adopted "das gemeine Deutsch" earlier than the chanceries did (p. 32) and that the local chanceries began to lose their individual characteristics in part because of their adoption of "das gemeine Deutsch" (p. 53), it is not altogether clear whether he means the gemeindeutsch based on the Imperial chancery language that he describes in the passage quoted above, one of the UG regional written languages, or a single UG written language that, as Kluge suggests, may have been common to the entire region at the time by virtue of its phonology.

Emil Gutjahr's 1910 definition of "die gemeindeutsche Sprache" is similar to Müllenhoff's and Rückert's. He posits a common language that was originally EMG in character and later took on UG features as well. The language, he asserts, achieved its significance not only as a business and chancery language, but also as a literary

language during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It was not only the language of the Imperial chanceries of Charles IV, Ludwig of Bavaria, and Maximilian but, according to Luther, of all the German princes and cities as well.⁴⁶ Although Gutjahr does at a later point in his discussion go into more detail on the evolution of the Imperial chancery language in this period (pp. 209-22), his explanation of the German common language remains so general that its only particular contribution to the development of the concept "Gemeines Deutsch" is the assertion that it was a literary language.

In his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatursprachen* (1926), Hans Naumann's approach to the question of the German common language is a little different from that of his predecessors. Using the terms "gemeinsprachlich" and "das *gemeine Deutsch*," he emphasizes the difference between the literary language and the common language. The character of the NHG language is, he says, "first of all that of a common language, of an official, practical [language], and only secondarily that of a literary language."⁴⁷ This is similar to Burdach's definition, which equated the "common language" with a professional language. Naumann sees the development of the "so-called 'Gemeine[s] Deutsch'" ("das [...] so genannte 'Gemeine Deutsch'") to be the result of a movement within the specific speech community that comprised offices and chanceries. Naumann also observes that the presence of the Bavarian diphthongs alone would have been a sufficiently significant feature by which to characterize a language in the sixteenth century. He implies that this may be the basis for Luther's use of the term "gemein" in the *Tischreden* and notes that the disparity between the Saxon and Habsburg chancery languages should not be overemphasized (pp. 22-26).

The next significant presentation of the *Gemeines Deutsch* material is that of Adolf Bach (1938).⁴⁸ Until the appearance of the studies by Hans Eggers⁴⁹ and R. E. Keller,⁵⁰ discussed below, his was the most exhaustive treatment of the subject in any of the histories of the German language. Because most of the handbooks that have appeared since are heavily indebted to Bach's work, his presentation

of the Gemeines Deutsch issue merits particular attention. The virtue of Bach's comprehensive discussion is its attempt to relate the many disparate strands of information offered by earlier authors. The drawback is that the synthesis is uncritical.

As the following summary indicates, Bach presents a rather muddled picture of the interrelationship of "das *gemeine Deutsch*," the Imperial chancery language during the reign of Maximilian I, the German printers' languages at the turn of the sixteenth century, and the German common language. Because of the occurrence of the term "das *gemeine Dt.*" in 1464, Bach assumes there was a Southeast German (SEG) common language that had developed in Austria under the auspices of the Imperial chancery by that time. During the reign of Maximilian I (1493-1519), the Emperor and his chancellor Niclas Ziegler are supposed to have concerned themselves with the regulation of orthography and the suppression of southern dialectal features in the chancery language (p. 250). The language of Maximilian's chancery was emulated not only by chanceries in the Danube Basin, but by the printers of the region as well (p. 251). In this "*Gemeines Dt.*," says Bach, Boner's "Edelstein," the "Ackermann aus Böhmen," Stein-höwel's "Äsop," and the fourteen pre-Lutheran, High German Bibles were printed between 1461 and 1518 (p. 254). He maintains that Hans Sachs and Sebastian Franck also contributed to the promulgation of the "obd. [UG] *Gemeinsprache*" by writing in the adapted form of the Imperial chancery language developed by the printers (p. 251). It was these printed versions of the Imperial chancery language that caused it to have its historical impact on the German language. After 1550 there were five main varieties of printed Gemeines Deutsch: two of these were UG; two were MG; and one was from a transitional zone between the two regions (p. 255).

Bach's usage of the term "das *gemeine Dt.*" undergoes several transformations in the course of his presentation. At the outset it is a regional written language developed under the auspices of the Imperial chancery in Austria. In its 1464 state Bach declares it to be a southeastern common language ("[Leine] *Gemeinsprache im dt.*

Südosten," p. 250). He then claims that it is the language in which a number of UG printed texts appeared between 1461 and 1518. The written professional language thus becomes the language of several printers. Bach also speaks of "Maximilian's 'Gemeines Deutsch'" ("Das 'Gemeine Deutsch' Maximilians I.," p. 251), meaning the somewhat regularized written language of the Imperial chancery as it evolved through the efforts of Maximilian himself and Niclas Ziegler; and he speaks of "Gemeines Deutsch" as it was written in the Saxon Electoral chancery at the time of Luther (p. 259). This written language, like that of the contemporary Habsburg chancery, was not yet a fully developed common language (p. 254); that development required the intermediate stage of the printers' languages (p. 255). Bach begins then with some variety of written SEG that he calls a common language and after several developmental stages ends up with something that is neither specific to the Southeast, nor a purely written language, nor a common language. Both written and printed language, chancery and literary texts, EUG and MG materials may in Bach's terms be called "Gemeines Deutsch." The language of Maximilian's chancery was one variety of "Gemeines Deutsch"; the language of the Wettin chancery was another very similar one.

Bach's development of the concept "Gemeinsprache" is also somewhat circuitous. Proceeding from the assumption that a south-eastern Gemeinsprache existed by 1464, he adds that by the end of the fifteenth century the concept of a common language, "Gemeines Deutsch," had become dominant in Germany although opposition to it persisted through the second quarter of the sixteenth century. The chancery languages contributed to the emergence of the common language but did not represent the fully developed language themselves. The intermediate transformation afforded by the printers' languages was necessary to produce the NHG common language. In speaking of the "Gemeinsprache" of 1464 and of the "obd. [UG] Gemeinsprache" of Sachs and Franck, Bach is clearly describing something different from the "nhd. [NHG] Gemeinsprache" he mentions later (p. 255). The first two terms refer to written and printed varieties of what may be defined loosely

as an EUG regional language; the last is the pan-German common language in the modern sense of the term.

Bach's presentation does not permit much headway with the terms "Gemeines Deutsch" and "Gemeinsprache." Like several of his predecessors, he gives too much credence to the 1464 formulation "das gemeine Deutsch." His subsequent use of the term is so imprecise as to render it almost meaningless. Bach's innovation is the emphasis he places on the role of Maximilian and his chancery in the development of "Gemeines Deutsch." For the first time in the histories of the German language, Maximilian is said to have had a curatorial interest ("pflegliches Interesse," p. 250) in the UG chancery language. Bach does not offer any hard evidence to support his redefinition of Maximilian's role in shaping the Imperial chancery language, however, and his summation suggests that the new image may be somewhat distorted:

In Frankreich und England sind es staatl.-polit. Kräfte gewesen, die zu einer nationalen Gemeinsprache geführt haben. Wenn sich unter Maximilian stärkere Ansätze zu einer ähnlichen Entwicklung in Deutschland zeigten, so verhinderte doch die lockere Gliederung des Reichs wie der Umstand, daß der führende Staat der Habsburger am Rande des dt. Lebensraumes lag, eine nachdrücklichere Verwirklichung des Ziels, obwohl Maximilians Sprache zunächst eine große Zukunft zu haben schien. (p. 260)

One must ask what Bach means when he suggests that "Maximilian's language appeared at first to have a great future." On the basis of the information presented to this point, the only German language that can be traced to a reasonable proximity of Maximilian is the written dialect used in his chancery.⁵¹ Only in a limited sense could a professional language of this sort be considered "the strong beginning" of a national language. At most its orthography, phonology, and perhaps morphology might contribute to the development of a common language.

Fritz Tschirch, in his presentation, goes back to the assumptions that "Gemeines Deutsch" is synonymous with the language of the Habsburgs' Vienna chancery, and that the linguistic rivalry that

emerged toward the beginning of the sixteenth century was between the chancery languages of the Habsburgs (reaching its peak under Maximilian) and of the Luxemburgs (reaching its peak under Charles IV). The Habsburg language spread in an east-west direction throughout Upper Germany; the Luxemburg language similarly in southern Middle Germany. Tschirch sees this linguistic development, coupled with attendant political considerations, to have been in danger of splitting Germany at the Main. He suggests that the rise of printing helped prevent this.⁵² The rise of printing and the complication of the printers' languages, however, constitute a linguistic development separate from and subsequent to the development of the Luxemburg chancery language. That the two chancery languages under consideration were as politically significant in the mid-fifteenth century as Tschirch suggests is doubtful; the chancery languages became somewhat politicized in the wake of the Reformation, not in anticipation of it.⁵³ It is unlikely that the two written languages, which had become quite similar by that time, would have caused a linguistic rupture. One must also question the continuing impact of the Luxemburg chancery language as such in the fifteenth century. Even though Tschirch speaks of the parallel development of the two chancery languages, Luxemburg chancery personnel actually worked in the chancery of Frederick III for the first decade or so of his reign. It would be more accurate to speak of a sequential development—Luxemburg, and then Habsburg—if one is really concerned with chancery dialects. It should be mentioned here in passing that for the most part Germanic linguists no longer assume that Luther's phonology derives directly from that of the Bohemian chancery.⁵⁴

John Waterman's account is not very different from the preceding ones: "Largely as a result of attempts to standardize the principal Kanzleisprachen, two generalized and widely used varieties of High German came into prominence during the ENHG era. Of these, the so-called Gemeines (=allgemeines) Deutsch, an essentially Upper German dialect which had first been fashioned into a literary instrument in the imperial chancery of the Hapsburgs, came to serve as the

standard written language of Austria and southern Germany."⁵⁵ He goes on to say that this language did not ultimately give way to EMG until the eighteenth century.

The interesting new aspect that Waterman presents is the idea that Gemeines Deutsch evolved into a literary language in the Habsburg chancery. Developing a literary language is not the ordinary business of a chancery, but then neither was Maximilian's an ordinary chancery. Its members had to concern themselves not only with the administrative and diplomatic affairs of the Empire, but also with Maximilian's personal literary production. Maximilian's chancery scribes were sometimes entrusted with the completion of his literary undertakings. This should have required a literary language. There is no indication that Waterman investigated the literary production of Maximilian's chancery, however, and he does not explain in what sense the chancery dialect was "fashioned into a literary instrument" during Maximilian's reign. These issues are considered in conjunction with the examination of Maximilian's chancery language and the writing habits of individual Habsburg scribes in chapter 3.

When Hans Eggers (1969) addresses himself specifically to the issues of "das gemeine Deutsch" and the possible existence of a Gemeinsprache in sixteenth-century Germany, he focuses on Luther's celebrated statement and Fabian Frangk's observations about the German language recorded in the Orthographia of 1531 (discussed in "Luther's Tischreden WA I, 524 and WA V, 511" and "Frangk's Orthographia" below). He concludes that despite the verifiable tendencies toward unification in the German written languages of the period, the observations of contemporary grammarians and literati, and the assumptions of modern Germanists, a German common language as such could not possibly have existed in the sixteenth century.⁵⁶ The chancery language of Maximilian and Frederick the Wise is, as Eggers explains the Luther reference, not the German common language, but the most common German language of the time. Eggers' interpretation of the second occurrence of the word "gemein" in the passage (where Luther claims not to use any "gewisse, sonderliche, eigene Sprache im Deutschen" but rather to make

use of "der gemeinen deutschen Sprache") is in complete agreement with Stanley Werbow's. He asserts that Luther means simple, non-Latinate German (pp. 152-54). Elsewhere Eggers uses the term similarly in describing the German of the rough burlesque literature of the second half of the fifteenth century: "Die schlichte, allgemein verständliche Sprache, die gemeine Deutsch, wie die Zeitgenossen sie nannten, drohte in Banalität zu versinken" (p. 123). And in considering the circumstances attendant on the Reformation, he observes that the intellectual issues of the times required a gemeines Deutsch (p. 155).

In examining the linguistic consequences of the Reformation for Germany, Eggers returns to the first meaning of "das gemeine [gemeinstel] Deutsch."

Die nunmehr schroff betonte Glaubensspaltung zog auch einen scharfen Schnitt durch das große östlich-südöstliche Schreiblandschaft. Das 'Meißnische'—so bezeichnete man auch LUTHERS Schreibsprache—wurde als die Sprache der Protestanten abgestempelt. Für den bayrisch-österreichischen Südosten ergab sich daraus ein Rückfall in den sprachlichen Partikularismus. Zwar wollte man auch hier das gemeine Deutsch pflegen, aber Richtschnur sollte ganz allein die Sprache der kaiserlichen Kanzlei sein, die 'Reichssprache', wie man damals zu sagen pflegte. Doch auch die großen Kanzleien, nunmehr politisch und ideologisch verfeindet, begannen, noch einmal, ihre eigenen Wege zu gehen. (p. 187)

The reference here to "das gemeine Deutsch" is somewhat curious. In this context it does not refer to stylistically simple, non-Latinate German but to the relatively unified chancery language of Maximilian and Frederick the Wise. Eggers says that the Reformation caused the written languages of East Middle Germany and East Upper Germany to split, and that even the chanceries themselves began to develop in different directions. This is accurate, but the sequence of events he offers in explanation is not altogether clear. Eggers accounts for the divergent development of the regional chancery languages by suggesting that the Southeast suffered a relapse of linguistic particularism and adopted as its sole standard the Imperial chancery language. This occurred despite the desire (not attributed to anyone) to maintain "das gemeine Deutsch" in the region. In his earlier explanation,

however, Eggers has shown that "das *gemeine Deutsch*" is just what the Imperial chancery was writing during the first decades of the sixteenth century (pp. 152-54). Emulation of this chancery language would not produce the more characteristically UG language he says was written in the South as a political reaction to the Reformation. If the Imperial chancery language was considered the only gauge for the writings of the Catholic Southeast, one must ask, Which Imperial chancery? or, The Imperial chancery in what period? In 1536, for example, so pronounced an exponent of the Catholic point of view as Johann Eck writes in the dedication of his Ingolstadt Bible that he has deliberately patterned his German after that of Niclas Ziegler, the onetime chancellor of Maximilian I. The German to which Eck refers here is the same German that Luther described in his *Tischrede*. It is "das *gemeinste Deutsch*," the language as it had been written fifteen or more years earlier in Maximilian's chancery, before the Reformation can be considered to have been a factor.

Wilhelm Schmidt (1970) identifies "das *Gemeine Deutsche*" as one of four late medieval German regional written business languages. It evolved as the language of trade in the Danube Basin during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and was influenced by the Imperial chancery, which moved to Austria during this period. He asserts that Maximilian and Niclas Ziegler were concerned with the development of an UG common language that avoided dialectal features. The influence of this *Gemeines Deutsch* spread throughout Southern Germany and as far as Cologne in the sixteenth century.⁵⁷ In this presentation Schmidt uses the term "Gemeines Deutsch" to describe both the fifteenth-century regional written language of the South and the altered form of this language that developed through contact with the Imperial chancery and through the efforts of Maximilian and Ziegler. It is apparently this second *Gemeines Deutsch*, the one he associates directly with the Habsburg chancery, that is supposed to have exerted influence beyond the dialectal region to which it was indigenous during the sixteenth century.

R. E. Keller's recent (1978) explanation of Gemeines Deutsch is the most useful that has appeared to date.⁵⁸ It takes into account most of the arguments on the subject that have been put forward during the past century and a half while eliminating much of the confusion they have produced.

Gemeines Deutsch is a designation used by many authorities for Upper German, excluding in the early sixteenth century Swiss, i.e. South or High Alemannic. It is, however, doubtful whether the opposition ECGm. [EMG] vs. Gemeines Deutsch is really justified, and in light of Luther's and Frangk's comments made almost in the same year, it is unlikely that contemporaries saw their language situation in this way. Furthermore, although gemein could mean 'common' then as now, in most of the occurrences of Gemeines Deutsch at that time it meant 'simple, ordinary, straightforward German' as opposed to the involved, artificial, latinizing style of much contemporary writing. (pp. 373-74)

At this point Keller proceeds to specify exactly what Common German, as he uses the term, included during the early decades of the sixteenth century. He identifies five areas within the Common German region: (1) WCGm. [WMG]: Mainz, Worms; (2) ECGm. [EMG]: Erfurt, Wittenberg, Leipzig (Thuringian, Upper Saxon); (3) CUGm. [CUG]: Nuremberg, Bamberg, Würzburg (East Franc.); (4) WUGm. [WUG]: Strassburg, Basel (Low Alem.); and (5) EUGm. [EUG]: Augsburg, Ingolstadt, Vienna (Swabian, Bavarian, Austrian) (p. 374). By Keller's definition only three areas fell outside the Common German region at the time—Cologne, Switzerland, and Low Germany (p. 374).

This explanation agrees rather well with the concept of regional written languages suggested by Gesner's statements and adopted by Schirokauer and others mentioned above. It identifies five distinguishable varieties of Common German at the beginning of the sixteenth century, one of which (EUG) coincides geographically with the primary sphere of Habsburg influence at that time. Keller avoids equating EUG specifically with the Imperial chancery language, however, just as he avoids equating the Saxon Electoral chancery language with EMG. Neither does he associate the different varieties of Common German with specific printers' languages. He simply

delimits and subdivides a general geographic area in which a number of more specific forms of written and printed German—all of which may be called Common German—were produced. In keeping his definition of Common German essentially dialectal, Keller avoids the issues of deliberate language standardization, of the sixteenth-century German impulse toward a common language, and of the association of Common German with Luther, Maximilian, and the Wettin and Habsburg chanceries. At the same time, however, his definition permits almost every other interpretation of the term "Gemeines Deutsch" that has been proposed by previous historians of the German language. Common German then may mean simple non-Latinate German, or German instead of Latin. It may refer to the entire group of German written languages at the turn of the sixteenth century that excluded Swiss, Low German (LG), and the written dialect of Cologne; or it may refer individually to any of the five written languages in the group. Used in the latter way, it is correct to say that both the Habsburg chancery of Maximilian I and the Wettin chancery of Frederick the Wise wrote Common German. In Keller's terms they wrote two different varieties of Common German. In the terms of Eggers and others above who have not so subdivided the Common German region, these two chanceries wrote the same Common German.

Keller's definition of Common German eliminates much of the confusion about "Gemeines Deutsch" that has resulted from imprecise use of the term. It also points up the areas, particularly with reference to the Habsburg chancery language, where questions remain to be answered. These are the aspects of the Gemeines Deutsch question that fall outside the limits of his definition. In the statement quoted above, Keller objects to the opposition of EMG and "Gemeines Deutsch" for reasons that become apparent as he develops his definition. When "Gemeines Deutsch," as we have seen in other accounts above, is used in opposition to EMG, it connotes either Southern German in general, SEG, or the Imperial chancery language of the Habsburgs. Defined in any of these ways, "Gemeines Deutsch" is simply a subset of the set Common German as defined by Keller and is

analogous to the subset EMG. In Keller's terms the opposition within the set Common German of the subsets UG versus MG, or EUG versus EMG, is possible, but the comparison of one subset (EMG) to the whole (Gemeines Deutsch) is rather pointless.

The preceding review of "Gemeines Deutsch" as it is explained in the handbooks shows that the term, which thus far seems to have had only stylistic or dialectal implications in the sixteenth century, began to be associated with the emergence of the modern German common language and with questions of deliberate language standardization almost as soon as it entered the histories of the German language. Later "Gemeines Deutsch" was also connected with Kaiser Maximilian himself and with his literary interests and projects. As the handbook accounts of the significance of the Habsburg chancery language swelled, little new evidence was introduced to support the expanded claims. The questions that fall outside Keller's working definition of Common German still remain to be answered in the following chapters, as do all the smaller issues raised in the composite account of the Habsburg chancery language presented at the beginning of this chapter. Let us consider briefly these ancillary propositions, their sources and accuracy, before considering the linguistic climate of sixteenth-century Germany and finally the Habsburg chancery itself.

Frederick III and the Habsburg Chancery Language

Although most of the handbooks focus their attention on the Habsburg chancery language as it was written during the reign of Maximilian, some begin their accounts with the development of the written dialect under Frederick III. The first scholar to mention Frederick in this connection is Ernst Wölcker in 1877.⁵⁹ He acknowledges that the chancery language becomes decidedly UG under Frederick III, but he in no way suggests that this is the result of conscious effort on the part either of the Emperor or the chancery. In his Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (1891), Otto Behaghel credits the chancery itself with attempting to eliminate dialectal peculiarities from its written language; Frederick's role in this attempt is not clear.⁶⁰ Sigmund Feist places Frederick along with Maximilian in

the elevated position of patron ("Förderer") of the German language, and implies that Frederick participated actively in crafting the chancery language: "Bekanntlich war dieser Kaiser [Maximilian] neben seinem Vater Friedrich III. wie kein Anderer seit Karl dem Großen und kein Späterer ein Förderer der deutschen Sprache und Dichtung, ja sogar selbst Schriftsteller."⁶¹ Walter Henzen returns to the more conservative viewpoint of Wülcker. He acknowledges a change in the chancery language during Frederick's reign, but he connects this with the fact that the axis of Frederick's activity was between Vienna and Graz and that he was little interested in Imperial affairs. Henzen implies no direct intervention by Frederick that might have caused a change in the policies of his chancery.⁶²

In his 1969 study of ENHG, Eggers has stressed the importance of distinguishing between the Imperial chancery and the House chancery of the Habsburgs during the reign of Frederick III. He sees the former, which was based in Vienna, to have been the direct descendant of the Luxemburg chancery, and the latter, which was located in Graz, to have been a linguistically parochial office that handled only those matters pertaining to the Habsburg ancestral holdings.

Kaiser FRIEDRICH III. verfügt nicht nur über die Reichskanzlei, sondern gleichzeitig auch, für die Angelegenheiten seiner habsburgischen Erblände, über eine in Graz beheimatete Hauskanzlei. Während nun diese in ihrer Schreibsprache die derb mundartlichen Züge niemals verleugnet, befleißigt sich die Reichskanzlei einer gezigelten übermundartlichen Schreibart, die alles Nur-Mundartliche zu meiden sucht. Diese überregionale Schreibsprache aber war, wie NORDIJK nachweisen konnte, schon ausgeprägt, bevor die Reichskanzlei nach Wien verlegt wurde, nämlich in der Wiener Stadtkanzlei. (p. 141)

Continuing in this vein, Eggers concludes, "[. . .] es ist klar, daß die Schreibsprache der Weltstadt Wien zum Vorbild auch der Reichskanzlei wird, und nicht etwa die provinzielle Rückständigkeit der Grazer Hauskanzlei" (p. 141).

Eggers exaggerates the distinction between the orientations and jurisdictions of the two chanceries. The chancery for the Erblände was actually split off the Imperial chancery by Frederick

in 1442 and set up with its own staff. There continued, however, to be regular cooperation between the staffs of the two chanceries.⁶³ Eggers probably overstates the role of the written language of Vienna in the development of the Habsburg chancery dialect in this period as well. He suggests that the personnel Frederick took over from the Prague chancery gradually adapted to the Viennese chancery style as new local scribes began to replace the older Prague scribes who left the chancery (pp. 140-41). The Prague chancery tradition itself is sufficient to account for most of the features that distinguish the early production of the Imperial chancery in Vienna from the "crudely dialectal characteristics" ("die erb mundartlichen Züge") of the Graz chancery. The continued presence of Prague scribes writing the MG they were accustomed to is a more plausible explanation for the continued presence of these features in the Imperial chancery language during the first decade of Frederick's reign than Eggers' suggestion that the Prague scribes over a ten-year period gradually learned the Viennese written language. If the Prague scribes had wanted to affect the Viennese style, it would hardly have taken them a decade to do so. It is more likely that the similarity between Imperial chancery documents and Vienna city documents increased over the first decade of Frederick's reign because of the increased number of Vienna-trained scribes in the Reichskanzlei.

These questions of emphasis are not critical to Eggers' interpretation of the Habsburg chancery language under Frederick. The view of language and language standardization that he imputes to the Imperial chancery of the late fifteenth century, however, is significant. He asserts that the Imperial chancery took great pains to write a restrained, supradialectal language, which attempted to avoid all specifically dialectal forms. Beyond this he says that the written language of Vienna became the model for the Imperial chancery, and that the older Prague scribes had to adapt to this written language. All of these statements suggest that the Imperial chancery had a highly self-conscious and specific view of the German it wrote. Inherent to this view is a clear distinction between dialectal and

supradialectal language. Eggers indicates that the Imperial chancery was sufficiently aware of the concept of a supradialectal language to seek to write one. He implies that the chancery saw the written language of Vienna to be supradialectal and thus deliberately emulated it. This would mean that the most important administrative office in the Holy Roman Empire was concerned enough about language as such in the fifteenth century to deliberately change its writing practices. The claim for such linguistic awareness remains to be proven.

In 1970 Peter von Polenz presents the more conservative view of Frederick as the monarch uninvolved with linguistic developments in the chancery. He describes the linguistic changes that occurred during Frederick's reign, but he does not make him the direct cause of them.⁶⁴

Maximilian I and Chancery Language Reform

Many historians of the German language have tried to explain the development of the Habsburg chancery dialect during Maximilian's reign in terms of the Emperor's personal interest in literature and his direct contact with the chancery. In his 1879 article on the Saxon chancery language, Ernst Wülcker explains that Maximilian's chancery language was basically the same as that of his father's chancery.⁶⁵ His analysis of Maximilian's chancery dialect is based on a volume of Urkunden that was edited and published by Joseph Chmel in 1845.⁶⁶ In this edition Wülcker discovered that certain Imperial documents issued in Holland during Maximilian's reign were "written just like Tirolean and Austrian ones" ("in ganz derselben Weise geschrieben sind, wie die tirolischen und österreichischen," p. 366), that is, in Austrian dialects. Because Wülcker writes from the assumption that the Emperor used local scribes to pen his diplomatic materials when he was traveling (p. 356), he suggests that Maximilian introduced his own UG chancery language into Low Germany and that the indigenous scribes adopted it. Although Wülcker presents Maximilian not as the creator of the Habsburg chancery language, but rather as its propagator, the following statement appears to have misled several

subsequent scholars who, like Wölcker, were insufficiently informed about the internal procedures of the Habsburg chancery.

Ueber die Sprache Maximilians kann man sich bei Chmel [...] unterrichten, aus seinem Buche ersieht man auch, dass Briefe, Erlasse u. s. w., welche in Holland ausgestellt sind, in ganz derselben Weise geschrieben sind, wie die tirolischen und österreichischen. Und bei dieser Sprache ist es dann später in der kaiserlichen Kanzlei geblieben, alle nachfolgenden Herrscher fussen auf ihr. Maximilian aber, der dieser Schriftsprache zuerst in seinen niederländischen Provinzen mit klarem Bewusstsein und nothgedrungen Geltung verschaffen musste, dessen Kanzler also auch gewisse Instruktionen zu erlassen hatten—Maximilian galt später als ihr Begründer, obwohl sie vielleicht auch schon etwas früher für das eigentliche Deutschland nachgewiesen werden kann. (p. 366)

In 1888 Friedrich Kluge assumes that because Maximilian encouraged the translation of a number of works from the classical languages into German, there is sufficient justification for attributing the beginnings of the theoretical regulation of the language to him.⁶⁷ To support this assumption he cites the following line from Theodor Bibliander's 1548 treatise, De ratione communi omnium linguarum: "ferunt et Maximilianum imperatorem in animo versavisse emendationem sermonis Teutonici" (p. 31, n. 1). Kluge's reasoning here is unconvincing; that Maximilian encouraged translation is no reason to assume that he took a personally active role in linguistic reform. Bibliander might have had personal knowledge of Maximilian to support his statement, but this is unlikely since he was not born until about 1504.⁶⁸ It is more likely that the statement derives from another contemporary work on language. The passage from which Kluge quotes suggests its source:

Doctissimi autem uiri Ioan. Tritemij sentētiam pauld̄ inferius reddā, quum de linguarū mutatione explicabitur. Non praeter mittere hic etiam sententiā grauen & sapientem, ut iudico, Fabiani Franki ciuis Boli- slauensis, debeo. Cuius haec sunt uerba: Es wär on schaden/ ja meins bedunkens hoch von nōten/ das ein gantze Grammatika hierin beschribē wurd/ recht regulierts Tütschen. Die sprach ist so lustig/ nutzlich vnd dapffer in iher redmas/ als inndert ein andere befunden wirt.⁶⁹

Although Bibliander does not quote Fabian Frangk exactly, these are certainly close approximations of statements made by Frangk in the Vorrede to the 1531 and later editions of his Orthographia.⁷⁰ Since Bibliander knew Frangk's work, it is probable that his statement about Maximilian is also based on Frangk's reference to Maximilian's chancery (see "Frangk's Orthographia" below).⁷¹ In 1888 Socin, like Kluge, relates this statement of Bibliander's to Maximilian's supposed attempts to produce a uniform written language.⁷²

The first to question Maximilian's direct involvement with linguistic reform is Virgil Moser in 1909. He says that since Maximilian "only builds a little further" on the language of Frederick III, he can "hardly understand the praise awarded him and his chancellor Ziegler because of his efforts at orthographic reform."⁷³ This point is well taken. If the reform was simply orthographic, it is curious that it should have received so much attention. The continuing scholarly interest in this matter can only be explained when specific details of the reform—if there was one—are produced. Henzen adopts a similar line but with fewer specific objections; he simply questions whether Maximilian was personally involved in the attempts at language leveling that occurred during his reign.⁷⁴

In 1925 Dirk Noordijk questions several aspects of Wülcker's description of the activities and language of Maximilian's chancery.⁷⁵ He objects particularly to Wülcker's suggestion that Imperial documents issued in the Lowlands by LG scribes were written in the same variety of UG as those produced by the chancery in Austria; he notes that the Habsburg documents from the Lowlands show numerous local dialects and that some were actually written in French (p. 157). On the basis of this evidence, he refutes Wülcker's contention that Maximilian's chancery language enjoyed universal acclaim and was written outside the UG region by scribes who were not from Upper Germany. Unfortunately historians of the German language writing since 1925 have for the most part overlooked Noordijk's sound objections and have adopted and elaborated on the mistaken conclusions of Wülcker.

Hugo Moser, in his Deutsche Sprachgeschichte and in his 1951 article on the emergence of the NHC common language,⁷⁶ implies that Maximilian was personally involved in the reform. In the first he says, "Kaiser Maximilian und sein Kanzler Niclas Ziegler erstrebten eine einheitliche, von landschaftsprachlichen Zügen freie oberdeutsche Kanzleisprache" (p. 138); in the second, "Seine [der kaiserlichen Kanzleisprache] innere Entwicklung und äußere Ausbreitung wurden vor allem durch die Tätigkeit Maximilians I. und seines Kanzlers Niclas Ziegler wesentlich gefördert" (p. 62).

Eggers adopts Kluge's view of Maximilian; he presents him as the author and literary patron who was, along with his chancellor Niclas Ziegler, concerned with the transformation of the chancery language. He attributes the renown of the Habsburg chancery dialect, "das 'Donauische'" or "die 'Donausprache,'" to its regularized orthography and claims contemporaries were aware "that strong impulses emanated from the Imperial chancery."⁷⁷ Later, however, Eggers suggests that the orthographic reform of Ziegler was short-lived: "Wenige Jahre nach Kaiser MAXIMILIANS Tod ist also ZIEGLERS Werk der Orthographiereform bereits verwässert. Landschaftliche Sonderbräuche und Schreibunarten zersetzen die auf Einheitlichkeit zielende Regelung" (p. 190). Polenz suggests a similar personal involvement on the part of Maximilian.⁷⁸

The Grammars of Krachenberger and Sunthaym

Since the appearance of the first edition of Kluge's Von Luther bis Lessing in 1888, several historians of the German language have included references to the missing grammars of Hans Krachenberger and Ladislaus Sunthaym as evidence of the deliberate linguistic activity Maximilian is supposed to have fostered in his chancery and elsewhere. Kluge cites the Bibliander statement discussed above and uses it as the basis for his assumption that Maximilian was concerned with normalizing the German language. Krachenberger, Sunthaym, and their respective grammars are mentioned to support this argument. Hans Krachenberger (Gracchus Pierius), Austrian Protonotary and Land-schreiber, is supposed to have begun but not completed an "opus

grammaticale de lingua germanica certis adstricta legibus," and Hof-
kaplan Ladislaus Sunthaym is said to have worked on a "Descriptio
linguae vulgaris per superiorem Germaniam," under the aegis of Maximilian. Socin, writing in the same year as Kluge, mentions only one of the supposed grammarians. He states that Hans Krachenberger, advisor and secretary at the courts of Frederick III and Maximilian I, wrote a grammar of the chancery language entitled "Opus grammaticale
de lingua Germanica, certis adstricta legibus." Since then Henzen, Bach, and Hans Rupprich have each mentioned Krachenberger and Sunthaym in connection with Maximilian's putative linguistic activities. Each of these accounts derives from Kluge's.⁷⁹

The existence of these grammars would be extremely significant for the present investigation and for other more general studies of the development of the German vernacular at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The works would antedate by a generation other sixteenth-century German linguistic treatises that invoke Maximilian's chancery language as a model. This means they could not be seen as a part of the wave of German grammatical works produced to teach the unlettered to read (and secondarily to write) as a result of the Reformation. Further the direct relationship of Krachenberger and Sunthaym to Maximilian might allow one to establish more convincingly than in previous studies Maximilian's own interest in the German language. For these reasons it is necessary to attempt to trace the grammars.

Neither Kluge nor Socin, both writing about the grammars in 1888, indicates his sources of information. Kluge, however, seems to have taken his material on both Krachenberger and Sunthaym from Johannes Müller's Quellenschriften.⁸⁰ His phraseology here is so similar to Müller's that there is no reason to assume he consulted the earlier sources Müller cites. Socin apparently used the following statement from Rudolf von Raumer's Geschichte der germanischen Philologie (1870):

Der erste, von dem uns berichtet wird, daß er eine Grammatik der deutschen Sprache unternommen habe, war Hans Krachenberger, kaiserlicher Rath und Secretarius

am Hofe Friedrich's III. und Maximilian's I. Das opus grammaticale de lingua Germanica certis adstricta legibus war seine letzte Arbeit. Er ist darüber hingerstorben, ohne sie zu vollenden und zu veröffentlichen.⁸¹

Through these early modern works it is possible to trace accounts of Krachenberger's grammar to 1553. Working backward from Müller, one comes first to Aschbach and then to Klüpfel. The second volume of Joseph von Aschbach's Geschichte der Wiener Universität (1877)⁸² offers good biographical material on Krachenberger, showing his position in Celtis' literary entourage and mentioning his grammar (pp. 421-22, n. 2). Engelbert Klüpfel's Latin biography of Celtis written fifty years earlier (De Vita et Scriptis Conradi Celtis, 1827) seems to have given Krachenberger's missing grammatical treatise the name by which it is still known. Klüpfel writes, "Operi grammaticali de lingua germanica, certis adstricta legibus, est immortuus."⁸³ A reference from Klüpfel can be traced through the Kobolt-Gandershofer Baierisches Gelehrten-Lexikon (1824)⁸⁴ and Michael Denis' Buchdruckergeschichte (1782)⁸⁵ to the first edition of Cuspinianus' Austria (1553).⁸⁶ Cuspinianus mentions his longtime colleague Krachenberger at the end of a passage comparing German with the classical languages:

Et olim Ioannes Gracchus Pierius, ni morte fuisset praeuentus, grammaticam pollicebatur in Germaniam linguam, sub certis regulis & inclinationibus sese scripturū, idq; multis doctis palam testabatur: & si uixisset, proculdubio praestitisset. Erat enim acuti ingenij, & carmine & prosa probè doctus, ut eius syntagmata clarè ostendunt: Elegiae praesertim, quibus cum antiquis certat, in rebus praecipue Germanicis Cuius utinam manes, ambrosia pascantur & nectare. (p. 593)

In the absence of the work itself, this evidence establishes quite convincingly that there once was a partially completed Krachenberger grammar of the German language. Cuspinianus is writing here about a man with whom he had been personally associated for decades. (More than fifty years earlier, for example, Cuspinianus had dedicated one of his early publications to Krachenberger.)⁸⁷ Both were principal members of the Danubian Sodality in Vienna. Because

Cuspinianus knew the man he writes about and lived in the same city as he, one may assume that he had more than hearsay knowledge of the grammar's existence. Little more, however, can be said about the grammar. From the sixteenth-century data, there is nothing to suggest that Maximilian commissioned this work or that the German described in it had anything to do with Maximilian's chancery language. Considered in the context of the linguistic climate of Germany at the turn of the sixteenth century, the existence of Krachenberger's grammar may be seen as evidence of the increasing humanist interest in the vernacular even before the Reformation. It cannot be used to support arguments for linguistic self-consciousness or standardization of any kind in the chanceries of Maximilian I.

The association of Ladislaus Sunthaym with an UG grammar dates from the mid-eighteenth century and the earliest stages of the historiography of the German language. In 1747 Elias Caspar Reichard writes in his Versuch einer Historie der deutschen Sprachkunst: "Des Ladislaus Suntheims descriptio linguae vulgaris per superiorem Germaniam lässt sich nebst verschiedenen andern, deren Gesner und Simler gedenken, nirgend antreffen."⁸⁹ This statement provides both the title of the elusive grammar and Reichard's source: the published catalog of the Conrad Gesner-Josia Simler library. Until now it has generally been assumed that the reference in the 1583 edition of this work was the earliest mention of the Sunthaym grammar. In his article on Sunthaym in the Verfasserlexikon, Hermann Maschek writes: "Die älteste Notiz darüber findet sich in dem Werk: 'Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a Conrado Gesnero . . . aucta per Josiam Simlerum . . . ampliifata [sic] per Joh. Jac. Frisium Tigurinum', Zürich 1583, S. 531. Daraus ist sie in andere Nachschlagebücher übergegangen."⁹⁰ The reference reads, "Ladislaus Suntheimus, Germanus, scripsit de lingua vulgari per superiorem Germaniam. Item historiarum collectanea."⁹¹ This is not, however, from the first edition of the catalog; the 1583 edition, which appeared after the deaths of both of the collectors named in its title,⁹² is actually the third version of the work to have been printed. The second

appeared in 1574. The first edition was published under a different title in four volumes that appeared between 1545 and 1555.⁹³ All three editions were published in Zurich.

A different and earlier reference to a grammatical treatise by Sunthaym appears in the second volume of the first edition in 1548. In the chapter entitled "De Grammatica" we read that "Ladislaus Suntheim descriptsit lingua vulgarem per Germaniā superiorē."⁹⁴ Although the content of this brief entry is very similar to the Sunthaym entries in the second and third editions, there is a major difference. Entries in the later editions are "in Epitomen redacta," that is, very briefly abstracted. In the last two editions the Sunthaym work is listed in this way: "Ladislaus, Suntheimus, Germanus, scripsit de lingua vulgari per superiorem Germaniā. Item historiarum collectanea."⁹⁵ This means that between 1548 and 1574, when the abstracts were being written for the second edition, someone must have discovered that the Sunthaym work had originally been misclassified; it was not a grammar at all but an historical treatise. Though the title continued to be misleading, the second and third editions of the catalog at least place Sunthaym's work in the proper category. The fact that no one has ever been able to produce a manuscript, a more detailed description of the supposed grammar, or corroborating contemporary evidence of its existence supports the theory of a cataloging error in 1548. The Sunthaym work appears to have been in the lingua vulgari and about Upper Germany rather than about the lingua vulgari in Upper Germany. If so, the Latin titles of the Sunthaym work are inaccurate in all three editions of the catalog.

In an interview with me on 18 May 1975, Dr. Friedrich Eheim of the Niederösterreichisches Landesarchiv⁹⁶ supported the assumption that Sunthaym had never written a grammatical treatise. Eheim's comments were based on a thorough acquaintance with the corpus of surviving Sunthaym manuscripts and on a detailed knowledge of the historian's biography, not on the catalog evidence just presented. He concluded that the work in question was undoubtedly about Upper Germany and not about UG. He described Sunthaym as more old-fashioned

than other members of the *Celtis* Sodality like Cuspinianus and Krachenberger, who were closer to the mainstream of Viennese humanism. Sunthaym's great interest was history and his contribution a new historical method; he never displayed any particular enthusiasm for language as such. Despite his title "Hofkaplan," Sunthaym's contact with the chancery was limited to collecting funds from it occasionally. His title, like those supplied to various of Maximilian's diplomats (see "Chancery Activity under Maximilian I," chapter 2), does not necessarily mean that he actually served at Court.

Sunthaym's so-called UG grammar was probably never written; Krachenberger's was partially written but has never been found. This means that both of the putative grammatical treatises must be excluded from the remainder of the present investigation. And because his grammar has been lost, there is no reason to investigate Krachenberger further. Although he is the only early sixteenth-century German grammarian known to have served in one of Maximilian's chanceries, the significance of the missing Krachenberger grammar for determining the linguistic climate of the Habsburg chancery during the period under consideration should not be overestimated. At the time Raumer introduced the Krachenberger material into the historiography of the German language in 1870, he had not seen the grammar, nor has anyone since. Thus Kluge's attempt to associate the work with Maximilian's "theoretical regulation of the language"⁹⁷ is based on nothing but speculation. In terms of the evidence currently available, neither of the "grammars" that has been associated with the Habsburg chancery language can be shown to have had a direct connection with the written dialect, and neither can be used to support the argument that any sort of deliberate regulation of the written language was practiced in Maximilian's chancery.

Ziegler and the Chancery Language of Maximilian I

It is also Friedrich Kluge who first mentions Imperial chanceller ⁹⁸ Niclas Ziegler in conjunction with Habsburg chancery reform.⁹⁹ Immediately after his statements concerning Sunthaym and Krachenberger, he continues:

Das höchste Ansehen aber in sprachlichen Dingen genoß der kaiserliche Kanzler Niclaus Ziegler, dessen Namen und Schreibart zahlreiche Urkunden weithin durch Deutschland verbreiteten.

Bis auf Maximilian treffen wir eine konsequente Schreibart bezüglich der Consonantendoppelungen. Überall treten in Urkunden Schreibungen wie Hellffershellffer, wie Czeytten (Zeiten), weitter, Pottschafft u. s. w. auf [. . .] Aber seit 1500 scheint eine strengere Orthographie durchzudringen. Und besonders die von Niclas Ziegler gezeichneten Urkunden zeigen ein erfolgreiches Bestreben, die unnötigen Consonantenhäufungen, zumal cz zu meiden. Er schreibt Zeiten, Helper; nur die unvermeidlichen nn (unns) herrschen auch bei ihm. Sonst sehen wir in seiner Sprache die Charakteristika des baierisch-österreichischen Dialekts: das häufige kh im An- und Inlaut; sl, sw, sn für schl, schw, schn (swebisch, Ratslag); anlautendes p (Pot 'Bote'); das Suffix -nuss; synkopierte Formen wie Glaub, Nam für Glaube, Name. Nur in Bezug auf das baierische ai ist N. Ziegler nicht so consequent wie die übrigen Kanzler des Kaisers.

Wenn bald auf allen Gebieten das Lob der Maximilianischen Kanzlei erschallt, so kann es sich kaum auf die Lautgebung beziehen; denn diese deckte sich im wesentlichen mit der Mundart der Donaulande. Jene Reformen in der Orthographie scheinen den Kanzleiräten Maximilians sprachliche Anerkennung verschafft zu haben.¹⁰⁰

Since this material first appeared, at least ten historians of the German language have adopted it, most of them without alteration. The first to question this presentation is Virgil Moser (1909) in the statement cited above in which he expresses skepticism about the high praise bestowed on Maximilian and Ziegler for what appears to have been an orthographic reform.¹⁰¹ The handbooks that have since come to include mention of Niclas Ziegler all adopt Kluge's account more or less at face value. Bach says that through Ziegler the striving for a uniform language was promoted in orthography and Rechtschreibung, and that in Southern Germany, provincial characteristics in the written language were reduced. The examples he cites (Hellffershellffer and Czeytten) are apparently taken directly from Kluge.¹⁰²

Henzen mentions Ziegler twice, once in conjunction with members of Maximilian's literary entourage, and once in his role as a contributor to the emergence of the new written language. "Es ist

behauptet worden, um 1500 sei Niclas Ziegler, der Kanzler Maximilians, die höchste sprachliche Autorität gewesen." This can only be a paraphrase of the Kluge statement that Ziegler enjoyed the highest esteem in things pertaining to language. Waterman, Schmidt, Rupprich, Eggers, and Polenz all include Ziegler in their presentations as Maximilian's major language reformer. Each of their statements can easily be derived from Kluge's and none of them offers more complete information than he presents. Eggers and Schmidt, like Bach, take over Kluge's example Hellffershellffer.¹⁰³

This heavy dependence on Kluge in the matter of Ziegler was first brought to light by Thomas P. Thornton in his article "Die Schreibgewohnheiten Hans Rieds im Ambraser Heldenbuch."¹⁰⁴ In it he says, "Trotz des vielen Suchens, habe ich nie Niclas Ziegler erwähnt gefunden, außer bei Kluge und seinen Nachfolgern wie Henzen und Bach, rein historischen Werken, und drittens in der berühmten Stelle am Anfang der Eckbibel, wo Eck den 'trefflichen' Ziegler und Maximilian wegen ihrer sprachvereinigenden Verdienste lobt" (p. 56). When Thornton's article appeared in 1962 this statement was perfectly accurate. Unlike Krachenberger and Sunthaym, whose association with the language of Maximilian's chancery can be traced to post-sixteenth-century works earlier than Kluge's, Ziegler appears first to have been cast in the role of a linguistic reformer by Kluge himself.

In the last six years pertinent new information on Ziegler has become available, making it possible now to assess his position in both the linguistic and the political history of the early sixteenth century. I consider this material in the following chapters in examining the organization and dialect of the Habsburg chancery during Maximilian's reign. Here, however, Kluge's sources are of interest, for his account alone is responsible for the inclusion of Niclas Ziegler in the standard histories of the German language. As Thornton suggests, these materials are not easy to locate. In the first (1888) edition of Von Luther bis Lessing, Kluge does not document the material on Ziegler, and in the last edition (the only one to which documentation of this information was added), Kluge's

citation is incorrect.¹⁰⁵ The most probable source of Kluge's account is the first volume of Heinrich Ullmann's exhaustive biography, Kaiser Maximilian I.,¹⁰⁶ which appeared in 1884, although the work contains but four brief references to Ziegler.¹⁰⁷ The Ullmann references lead to manuscripts in the "Wiener Archiv" (the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, which includes the former Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv [HHSAS]) or to the 1875 Victor von Kraus edition of certain of these manuscripts.¹⁰⁸ Although the manuscript holdings of the Staatsarchiv and recent historical studies establish unequivocally Niclas Ziegler's prominence in Maximilian's chancery hierarchy, the Wiesflecker regesta indicate that there are far fewer surviving Ziegler manuscripts than Kluge's statement above might lead one to believe.¹⁰⁹ It is unlikely that these documents, many of which are internal chancery communications, ever enjoyed any public circulation at all (see "The Secretaries," "The Hofordnung of 1498," and "The Authentication of Documents in Maximilian's Chancery," chapter 2). Further, Kluge never worked in or ordered materials from the Staatsarchiv.¹¹⁰

The question remains, then: Why did Kluge believe Niclas Ziegler had an active interest in revising the language of Maximilian's chancery? It is entirely possible that Kluge never saw a Ziegler document. His original impetus for investigating Ziegler was certainly the reference from Eck's 1537 Bible, and it appears that this statement plus the limited material from Ullmann's biography are the major sources of Kluge's presentation. In speaking of Paul von Liechtenstain, Ullmann makes a passing reference to Ziegler: "An ihn [Liechtenstain] lehnte sich von den 'Geschriftweisen' vorzugsweise der vielgeschmähte Niklas Ziegler an, ein entschiedener Widersacher Langs und Sernteins."¹¹¹ Here Kluge may have thought that the term "Geschriftweisen" had something to do with language reform, when it only refers to the so-called clique of scribes, ambitious educated men who held high positions in the chancery and who were often criticized for reaping private gains from their public positions. A misinterpretation of this word taken in combination with the Eck reference might have led Kluge to conclude that Ziegler had a prescriptive

interest in the UG written in Maximilian's chancery. This conclusion would seem to take a great deal for granted, however, and it does not account for the description of Ziegler's orthography included in Kluge's statement above.

Further speculation about Kluge's sources is unnecessary. The preceding review suggests that the Kluge account, on which many others are based, is rather fanciful. On the basis of the data Kluge presents there is no reason to believe that an orthographic reform occurred in Maximilian's chancery or that Ziegler was interested in such issues. The high esteem Ziegler is supposed to have enjoyed in matters of language appears to have been limited to the acclaim of Johann Eck, and the reasons for this are not yet known. If any of Kluge's assertions are accurate, they remain to be supported with more substantial sixteenth-century evidence.

Chancery Procedures under Maximilian I

Some of the handbook accounts make reference to chancery procedures during Maximilian's reign that may have affected the complexion of the language in which chancery documents were written. Although these matters are considered in detail in the following chapter, the assertions are mentioned here briefly to show how certain vaguely understood chancery practices have been construed to have linguistic significance.

Philologists, beginning with Wüller in his 1883 article on Luther's relationship to the Saxon chancery language, discuss the uniform language in which official documents, issued "in the name of the ruler" ("im Namen des Herrschers"), were written. Socin adopts this phrase in his 1888 study. An alternative formulation was coined by Behaghel in his *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*; he speaks of documents that proceed "directly from the Emperor" ("unmittelbar vom Kaiser"). Bach has adopted this phraseology, and most recently Waterman has written of chancery documents "bearing the emperor's seal."¹¹²

What these phrases are meant to suggest is not clear. They seem to imply that certain documents produced in the chancery, those

that went out in Maximilian's name or bore his seal, were scrutinized for some sort of linguistic conformity. None of the scholars who include these formulations, however, explain in what way the language of these documents was uniform or what sort of approval the Emperor's seal implied. Nor do they indicate whether the presence of the Imperial seal meant that Maximilian had personally endorsed the document on which it appeared. To date no one has established that chancery signatory practices reflect a control for linguistic conformity or regularity. The handbook accounts, however, suggest that this may have been the case.

Expanding the idea that the Emperor's own communications displayed a degree of linguistic uniformity, some scholars have further suggested that documents that proceeded "directly from the Emperor" or documents from Imperial chanceries were written in the same standard language whether they were produced in Ghent, Brussels, Bruges, Innsbruck, or Neustadt. In Die deutsche Sprache, for example, Behaghel writes:

[. . .] während früher die Urkunden mit der Unterschrift des Kaisers gar verschiedenen Charakter trugen, manni- fache landschaftliche Färbung zeigten, geben schon seit Friedrich III. und mit voller, bewusster Entschiedenheit seit Maximilian die Schriften, die unmittelbar vom Kaiser ausgingen, die gleiche Sprache wieder, in welchem Teile von Deutschland sie entstanden sein mögen.¹¹³

It is again Wülcker who first suggests that the Austrian chancery language was written in Low Germany as well as various other parts of the Empire. In 1871 he mentions Holland,¹¹⁴ and in the Luther article¹¹⁵ he lists Ghent, Neustadt, Innsbruck, and Bruges; Socin is the first to add Brussels to the list. Bach adopts the catalog of cities; Waterman chooses the Behaghel formulation.¹¹⁶ So much for influences and borrowings. To date historians of the German language have presented these geographic details to imply that the regularized language of Maximilian's chancery had an impact far beyond its own Austro-Bavarian region.

Summary

The preceding review demonstrates that the handbooks as a group treat the Habsburg chancery language as a manifestation of the sixteenth-century German impulse toward a common language. The linguistic historians assume, as Eggers says, that this was "a time that had made Common German its goal."¹¹⁷ They suppose the movement toward a supradialectal language was conscious and widespread during the period and imply that it motivated the Habsburg chancery under Frederick and Maximilian. From this premise they attempt to establish the supradialectal, deliberately regularized features of the chancery dialect. In many presentations this is done by combining (or confusing) the issues of the Habsburg chancery language and Gemeines Deutsch. This approach is explained in terms of the supposed linguistic concerns or climate of Germany at the turn of the sixteenth century. And indeed the unsubstantiated claims put forward in the handbook accounts of the Habsburg chancery language are meaningful only in the context of a deliberate movement toward a German common language: Were Maximilian's own official documents written in a kind of regularized, supradialectal German? Did all the chanceries of the Empire write regularized UG? Did Niclas Ziegler execute an orthographic reform? Were Habsburg chancery documents controlled for orthographic conformity? The significance of these questions depends on the actual linguistic concerns of Germany just prior to the Reformation.

It has been established thus far that the combination of "gemein" and "deutsch" in several late medieval German contexts could mean German versus Latin, stylistically simple German, or a regional German written language. None of the ENHG attestations examined above can be construed to mean a supradialectal common language in the modern sense of the term. With the semantic problem now somewhat simplified, it is time to consider the sixteenth-century references that are most responsible for the view of Maximilian's chancery dialect commonly held by historians of the German language. An

examination of these texts may justify the present preoccupation with conscious sixteenth-century German efforts toward a common language. It may also establish a firm connection between this development and the chancery of Maximilian. In broadening our view of the sixteenth-century German linguistic climate, these texts may suggest which of the unsolved problems raised by the handbooks require further consideration. The texts are from two of Luther's Tischreden and from Fabian Frangk's Orthographia.

THE CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS

Luther's Tischreden WA I, 524 and WA V, 511

'Ich', sprach D. M. L., 'kann weder Griechisch noch Ebräisch, ich will aber dennoch einem Ebräer und Griechen ziemlich begegnen. Aber die Sprachen machen für sich selbs keinen Theologen, sondern sind nur eine Hülfe. Denn, soll einer von einem Dinge reden, so muß er die Sache zuvor wissen und verstehen. Ich habe keine gewisse, sonderliche, eigene Sprache im Deutschen, sondern brauche der gemeinen deutschen Sprache, daß mich beide, Ober- und Niederländer verstehen mögen. Ich rede nach der sächsischen Canzeley, welcher nachfolgen alle Fürsten und Könige in Deutschland; alle Reichsstädte, Fürsten-Höfe schreiben nach der sächsischen und unsers Fürsten Canzeley, darum ists auch die gemeinste deutsche Sprache. Kaiser Maximilian, und Kurf. Friedrich, H. zu Sachsen etc. haben im römischen Reich die deutschen Sprachen also in eine gewisse Sprache gezogen. Die märkische Sprache ist leichte; man merkt kaum, daß ein Märker die Lippen reget, wenn er redet; sie übertrifft die sächsische.'¹¹⁸

It is easy to see how this passage is responsible for most of the assertions about the German common language examined above. Luther's meaning is anything but self-evident. Linguistic historians have generally assumed that the passage refers to some variety of supradialectal German common language but have not always agreed on the definition of that term. Nineteenth-century linguists tended to see a fairly close correspondence between the common language suggested by Luther's statements and "common language" in the contemporary sense of the term. Thus Hermann Paul, for example, in the same passage in which he argues for a broader reading of the term "gemein

deutsch," asserts that Luther's phrase above can only imply a supra-dialectal language: "Wenn Luther in den *tischreden* von 'der gemeinen deutschen sprache' spricht, so kann es nach dem zusammenhange nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass dies im sinne einer für das gesamte reich gültigen, über den mundarten stehenden sprache gemeint ist."¹¹⁹ More recently scholars have been somewhat skeptical of this kind of equation and have found different "common" aspects of the language Luther describes. Werbow, for example, argues for a stylistic interpretation of the phrase "der gemeinen deutschen Sprache."¹²⁰ For the present investigation, however, the problem the passage raises is not whether Luther implies some sort of common language here. It is rather what kind of common language he means and how it corresponds to the modern conceptions of a German common language that have been associated with Maximilian's chancery dialect on the basis of the passage.

A comparison of the passage above to another of Luther's pronouncements on the German language brings into sharper focus his orientation toward the language he wrote and his sensitivity to dialectal differences. The following statement is from another of the *Tischreden* and seems to have been introduced to current ENHG scholarship by Johannes Erben.¹²¹

'Ich glaub, Engeland sey ein Stück Deutschlandes, denn sie brauchen der sächsischen Sprache, wie in Westphalen und Niederlande; wiewol sie sehr corrumpirt ist. Ich halte, die Deutschen sind vor Zeiten hinein transferirt und gesetzt, wie noch heut zu Tage der Bischof zu Cöln schreibet sich Herzog zu Engern, da itzund Bremen, Hamburg liegt; etwa ists Britannia genannt, darnach Angera, vom Volk, das hineingefuhrt ist. Die dänische und englische Sprache ist sächsisch, welche recht deutsch ist. Die oberländische Sprache ist nicht die rechte deutsche Sprache, nimmt den Mund voll und weit, und lautet hart. Aber die sächsische Sprache gehet fein leise und leicht ab.'

'Deutschland hat mancherley Dialetos, Art zu reden, also, daß die Leute in 30 Meilen Weges einander nicht wol können verstehen. Die Oesterreicher und Bayern verstehen die Thüringer und Sachsen nicht, sonderlich die Niederländer. Ja, jutha, ju, ke, ha, solch verjahen

ist mancherley, und eines anders denn das ander.
 Arnoldus, Ehrenhold; Arnolf, Ehrnhulf; Ulrich,
 Hildenreich; Leudolf, Leuthulf, eben wie Alexander;
 Ludwig, des Volks Zuflucht; denn ^{Wigk} heißt ein
 Schloß, Refugium, Hort, Asylum.¹²²

Luther's remarks here comparing UG ("oberländisch") to Saxon ("sächsisch"), and Austrian and Bavarian to Thuringian, Saxon, and LG, like those from the better-known Tischrede, WA I, 524 (in which he compares Saxon to the language of the March), show clearly that he knew the spoken languages of Austria and Saxony were considerably different at the time he wrote. Luther perceives them as being so different in fact that he categorizes Danish and English along with Saxon as "real (proper) German" ("die rechte deutsche Sprache"), while declaring UG not to be the real German language because it "fills the mouth, stretches it wide, and sounds harsh." Beauty is clearly in the ear of the hearer. Nevertheless there are limits to Luther's regional chauvinism: though he declares Saxon to be superior to UG, he finds the language of the March better than Saxon because it is light and requires the speaker barely to move his lips. However subjective his statement about the High and Low German dialects may be, it is evident, when the two Tischreden are considered together, that Luther is referring exclusively to a written language in his remarks about the linguistic achievements of Frederick the Wise and Maximilian. Thus the current tendency to read, "I write in the manner of Saxon chancery," for "Ich rede nach der sächsischen Canzeley," is perfectly correct. Bearing this in mind, let us return to the first of the Tischreden and see what it is that Luther says about this written language.

When Luther delivered this Tischrede in which he mentions the chancery languages, sometime between 1530 and 1535, he had already taught himself to write literary German and was fully aware of the problems this entailed. Erben notes that in the period between 1516 and 1530 Luther had become familiar with the vocabularies of other dialectal regions of Germany through his extensive reading of German texts and his correspondence.¹²³ In saying that he writes the language

of the Saxon chancery, then, Luther is describing the language of his own mature writings. As has often been noted, Luther cannot be referring to chancery style or syntax, for these were not appropriate to the German texts he wrote. He is instead referring to features of the chancery languages that need not be specific to either a single style or dialectal region: orthography, graphemics, and perhaps morphology. It is in these areas that one must look for a certain regularity in the Habsburg chancery language at the turn of the sixteenth century, and for a similarity between the chancery languages of Maximilian and Frederick the Wise. If one limits the areas of comparison to these features of the written languages, Luther's assertion that all the cities and princely courts of Germany wrote the same language becomes more plausible, although it is still not altogether accurate from a modern standpoint. From an orthographic point of view, Luther may be quite accurate in saying that he writes "die gemeinste deutsche Sprache."

It is not this phrase, however, but the first conjunction of "gemein" and "deutsch" in the Tischrede that has triggered the whole common language debate with regard to the chancery languages: "Ich habe keine gewisse, sonderliche, eigene Sprache im Deutschen, sondern brauche der gemeinen deutschen Sprache, daß mich beide, Ober- und Niederländer verstehen mögen." The interpretations of this statement range from declaring "die gemeine deutsche Sprache" to be a full-fledged common language in the modern sense of the expression, to denying it any supradialectal features but stylistic simplicity. That the professional language of the chanceries was not yet a supradialectal common language that altogether transcended specific dialectal regions and speech communities is quite certain.

The suggestion that the supradialectal aspect of language to which Luther refers may be purely stylistic requires further consideration. Werbow assumes that the two combinations of "gemein" and "deutsch" in Luther's Tischrede have different meanings. He suggests Luther's first reference ("der gemeinen deutschen Sprache") is to the simple non-Latinate style of his own writings, whereas the second

("die gemeinste deutsche Sprache") is to the phonology, orthography, and morphology he adopted from the chancery languages. Since first proposed by Werbow in 1963, this reading has been adopted by other historians of the German language:¹²⁴

Es gibt aber eine zweite Deutung des Satzes, die das Lautliche weniger schwer wiegen läßt, da es sich um die Schreibsprache handelt, und die Satzkonstruktion als das Gemeinsame anerkennt, was diese Sprache allen verständlich sein läßt. Luther wollte nicht nur, daß Ober- und Niederdeutsche ihn verstehen, sondern daß einfache Menschen aus allen Gegenenden deutschen Landes ihn verstehen. [...] Kann er damals nicht gemeint haben, daß er sich der 'gemeinen deutschen Sprache' bedient habe im Gegensatz zu der auf gewisse Kanzleien beschränkten, an der lateinischen Rhetorik geübten Schreibsprache? 'Im Lautstande, der Schreibweise und der Wortbiegung hat er sich der hochdeutschen Kanzleisprache angeschlossen, und zwar besonders der Kursächsischen . . . Im Wortschatz, der Wortbildung, und im Satzbau hielt er aber in richtiger Erkenntnis des deutschen Sprachgeistes an die lebendige Sprache des Volkes.'¹²⁵

There is no question that Luther wanted the common man to understand him and that to achieve this he used the stylistically simple, syntactically genuine German that Werbow describes in explaining the earlier attestations of "gemeines Deutsch" discussed at the beginning of this chapter. Werbow's definition is not convincing, however, in the context of the second Luther statement quoted earlier in this section. Although Latinate syntax is certainly not the feature of the chancery languages Luther adopted in his own writings, there is nothing in the larger context of the Tischrede to indicate that Luther is speaking of style and not dialect. If one reads "simple German" for "der gemeinen deutschen Sprache" in Luther's statement as Werbow suggests, it implies that no Upper or Lower Germans could understand the Latinate, chancery style of their own dialects, which is reading too much into Luther's statement. The opposition Werbow sets up in explaining his definition is troublesome. In saying that Luther wanted not only Upper and Lower Germans to understand him, but simple people from all regions of Germany, Werbow relates educational level to regional origin.

By interjecting the question of the common man into Luther's statement, Werbow creates an ambiguity not present in the original sentence; he confuses dialectal with stylistic or social aspects of language in a way that Luther does not. Presumably both regions of Germany produced both syntactically simple and syntactically complex varieties of German, as well as readers who could understand both styles. The regional chancery language represents the syntactically complex variety of German written in a given area. The common man Werbow mentions would have had difficulty understanding the chancery language of his own region because of its Latinate style even though it was written in his own dialect. The chancery language of another dialectal region would have presented two impediments to the untutored common man: its syntax would have been as difficult for him as that of the chancery language of his own region; its orthography and lexicon would have been unfamiliar. By abandoning the Latinate syntax of chancery communication, Luther would have overcome only one of these difficulties.

When Luther says he does not write any particular variety of German but uses the common German language so that both High and Low Germans can understand him, he is speaking loosely in dialectal terms. In asserting that he does not write any special German language, he means that he does not write a strictly dialectal form of German specific to a given locality. Instead he writes what in Gesner's terms might be called a "*Gemeindeutsch*," that is, a somewhat supra-dialectal regional written language that does not exactly correspond in its features to any one dialect of the region. The region indicated by Luther's description is the eastern portion of Keller's Common German Area (East Middle Germany and East Upper Germany), and his target audience was presumably the readership of the entire Common German area.

From a contemporary sixteenth-century point of view, Luther describes his written German quite accurately. It is a kind of common language, but not the sort that nineteenth-century philologists thought it to be. Günter Feudel's assessment of the statement is

most apt: "Es handelt sich dabei weder um eine Fiktion, die vorausnahm, was erst drei Jahrhunderte später Wirklichkeit werden konnte—eine Vorwegnahme würde ja bedeuten, daß Luther unsere moderne Norm gekannt hätte—noch um mangelndes Verständnis Luthers für sprachliche Belange."¹²⁶ If fiction has since crept into the interpretation of the chancery languages, it did not enter the discussion at this point in the sixteenth century. When Luther speaks of the chancery dialect of Maximilian, he is referring to a common language in a rather limited sense of the term. It seems to be a written language that can be distinguished primarily in orthographic or graphemic terms from other varieties of written German. Nothing in either of the statements from the Tischreden considered above suggests that the language Luther describes had come into being through deliberate efforts to produce a supradialectal common language in the modern sense of the expression. For this reason it is more logical to ask in what sense Maximilian's chancery language was a variety of sixteenth-century Gemeindeutsch than it is to ask how closely it resembles a modern common language.

Frangk's Orthographia

Of all the sixteenth-century German grammarians, perhaps none is so well remembered as the Silesian schoolmaster Fabian Frangk, who was both the first to invoke Luther as a linguistic authority and the first to prescribe a regularized supradialectal German common language. A native of Aslau and onetime tutor to Margrave Johann von Brandenburg, Frangk wrote his Orthographia in 1531 as a companion piece to the much longer Cañtzley vnd Titel buchlin of the same year. He intended that the works be used together.¹²⁷ The Titel buchlin is essentially an etiquette book to teach the uninitiated to write their Sendbriefe and other missives in the correct format and with the proper forms of address. It reflects the author's complete familiarity with contemporary chancery usage. The Orthographia teaches the petitioners how to write their requests in correct German ("Recht buchstäblich Deutsch"). In the introduction to the Titel buchlin and

later in the Orthographia itself, Frangk notes that beyond the issues of "Orthographia" and correct address, there are also stylistic aspects of correct German. He does not treat these, however, because they are matters of "redmas" (diction) and "Rethorik," subjects for the schools of "Redkündiger" (stylists of language).¹²⁸ Frangk indicates that since there are already works on rhetoric available, his buchlin will address the unmet needs in the areas of protocol and grammar.

Frangk's Orthographia is written for German youngsters, untutored laymen, and proponents of proper regularized German. Its purpose is to school Germans in the proper use of their own language lest they appear inept by comparison with other peoples ("andern Nation," p. 93). Although Frangk points out the need for a complete German grammar on the model of classical grammars, his own work is more limited in scope. "Orthographia," he reminds the reader, is simply the Latin and Greek term for what Germans call "Recht buchstäbig Deutsch schreiben" (p. 95), and this is the focus of his buchlin. It is aimed primarily at teaching Germans to spell their own language correctly. The Orthographia, however, like many sixteenth-century German grammatical works, concerns itself with reading as well as writing, and with spoken as well as written language. This feature distinguishes Frangk's observations about German from those that have been considered thus far.

Frangk asserts that the individual who wishes to write or speak German properly must avoid the usage of any particular region and "follow the good example of good German books and correspondence that have been published in handwritten or printed form" ("das man gutter exemplar warnehme/ das ist/ gutter deutscher bücher vnnd verbriefungen/ schriefflich odder im druck verfast vnd ausgangen," p. 94). As models worthy of emulation he cites the production of Maximilian's chancery, the writings of Martin Luther, and the texts of the Augsburg printer Johann Schönsperger. The context of this reference to Maximilian's chancery language is of particular interest:

Woraus man Recht
vnd rein Deutsch lerne.

WER aber solche misbreuch meiden/ vnd rechtförmig deutsch schreiben/ odder reden wil/ der mus deutscher sprachenn auf eins lands art vnd brauch allenthalben nicht nachfolgen. Nützlich vnd gut ists einem jdlichen/ vieler Landsprachen mit jren misbreuchen zuwissen/ da mit man das vnrecht möge meiden/ Aber das fürnemlichst/ so zu dieser sach förderlich vnd dienstlich/ ist/ das man gutter exemplar warnehme/ das ist/ gutter deutscher bücher vnd verbriefungen/ schriefftlich odder im druck verfast vnd ausgangen/ die mit vleisse lese/ vnd jnen jnn dem das anzunehmen vnd recht ist/ nachfolge.

Vnder welchen mir etwan/ des tewern (hochloblicher gedechtnis) Keiser Maximilianus Cantzelej vnd dieser zeit/ D. Luthers schreiben/ neben des Johan Schonsbergers von Augsburg druck/ die emendirsten vnd reinisten zuhenden komen sein/ Besondern/ wenn sie mit vleis jnngrossirt/ vbersehen vnd Corrigirt befunden werden/ Darzu/ aus jren Cantzleyen odder wercksteten/ Erstlich new ausgangen/ Von andern vnuleissigen vnd vnuerstdigen nicht anderwert wmbgeschrieben odder nach gedruckt sein. [. . .]

Vnd ab denn auch/ dieser angezeigtenn deutsch/ einem jdlichen jnn seinen ohren nicht klüng/ odder allenthalben gnug thet/ wollen wir sie dennach (die wir der verbesserung mangeln) nicht veracht nach jnn winckel werffen. Denn weil wir sehen/ das sich viel jnn kurtzen jaren auff diese sprache bevleissigen/ Bey vielen auch merlich gewachssen vnd zugenommen hat/ Wollen wirs die weil jnn dem es tauglich/ für lieb vnd danckbar annehmen/ Vnd gentzlich darfür halten/ die werd nach von tag zu tage jhe scheinbarer/ auch endlich gantz rein balirt vnd ausgestrichen werden etc. (pp. 94-95)

This passage is an unequivocal call for a supradialectal HG written and spoken language. It differs from any of the statements about Common German examined to this point in that it advocates the creation of a common language instead of describing any sort of regional language already in existence. The aspect of intentionality is brand new here, as is the suggestion that this "rechtförmig deutsch" should be spoken as well as written. From Frangk's statement we are led to believe that this program of linguistic regularization is already under way and that it is making considerable gains

in Germany. He says that even though the language may not sound right to everyone or satisfy all, many have troubled themselves to learn it in recent years and it is on the rise. He continues that the language is becoming more noticeable every day and predicts that it will eventually be completely regularized.

According to Frangk, the best way to learn this correct German is to read and imitate fine examples of written German. The models he suggests are from two literary generations: the first is that of Maximilian's chancery and Hans Schönsperger the Elder;¹²⁹ and the second, Frangk's own, is the period of Luther. The examples include both handwritten and printed texts. Although Frangk does not name specific works from the sources mentioned, he does warn the student particularly to seek engrossed or corrected texts (presumably in the case of chancery manuscripts) and new texts directly from the print shops, not yet paraphrased by the ignorant nor corrupted in pirated editions. This comment reflects Frangk's awareness of chancery procedures (see "The Imperial Chancery Ordinance [Reichskanzleiordnung] of 1494," chapter 2) and suggests that the exemplary quality the models share is orthographic. As indicated, we do not know precisely which works of the Habsburg chancery, of Luther's, or of Schönsperger's Frangk had in mind. He may have seen either literary or diplomatic texts from the chancery, and these may have been written or printed. He may have known any of a number of Luther texts. The 1538 edition of the Orthographia suggests that Frangk had seen the splendid luxury edition of Theuerdank that Schönsperger produced for Maximilian in 1517 (p. 94, n. 12); this may be the basis for his endorsement of the Augsburg printer. Whatever the texts Frangk is referring to, however, it is certain that from a modern linguistic standpoint they do not represent a single standardized written language. But from a sixteenth-century vantage point they may indeed.

It is to be expected that Frangk does not name similar models of spoken German despite his contention that the new regularized language is gaining ground in Germany. In this period when the first of the mass media was just beginning to have its impact, prescribing the

speech habits of select individuals would have been pointless. Neither can Frangk extol the virtues of a regional dialect, having categorically declared all dialects to be less than pure and unadulterated ("lauter vnd rein," p. 94) German. This does not mean, however, that Frangk is without a regional bias or that he does not consider certain dialects to be closer to his theoretical standard than others. In discussing the pronunciation of vowels, for example, he declares specifically UG diphthongs substandard for correct German (pp. 96-97), and his final tally of standard vowels represents an essentially MG distribution. Frangk's treatment of pronunciation and articulation is surprisingly scant throughout the Orthographia when one considers that he is proposing a variety of spoken and written German different from any of the spoken German dialects of his time. One wonders how the untutored were to learn to pronounce the standard spellings put forth in the Orthographia.

In several respects Frangk's phonetic and articulatory perceptions are less sophisticated than those of such contemporary sixteenth-century grammarians as Ickelsamer and Kolroß.¹³⁰ This in no way diminishes the significance of his farsighted call for a supra-dialectal German language, but it should be remembered in evaluating his references to the Habsburg chancery language and to the common language he thought he heard developing around him. What Frangk interprets as the deliberate effort of individuals to learn the supra-dialectal language described in the passage above was probably nothing more than the continuing natural evolution of the sorts of regional languages suggested by the Gesner and Luther statements already discussed. If so, one must ask what sort of spoken German Frangk considers to be evidence of the deliberate regularization of the language, since the regional languages posited earlier were only written languages. Frangk probably bases his statement on the speech of educated persons who either come from dialectal interface areas, travel widely, or come into regular contact with individuals from a variety of dialectal regions. The homogenizing influences of education, travel, or heterogeneous association could easily account for

the kind of language Frangk both prescribes and believes his contemporaries deliberately to be adopting.

At the point in the Orthographia (quoted above) where Frangk calls for the artificial creation of a supradialectal language, he mentions both Maximilian's chancery language and Luther's language as models of fine German. Frangk does not claim that the chancery language is an example of the regularized German; he simply says it is one of the best varieties of written German available to imitate. Yet the statement can easily be misconstrued so that Maximilian's chancery language is seen not as a means toward the standardized language but as a product of the conscious regularizing process itself. Read in this way, Frangk's statement, along with the reference from Luther's Tischrede, has certainly contributed to the modern assumption that the Habsburg chancery language was consciously standardized during Maximilian's reign.¹³¹ This conclusion is no more justified on the basis of Frangk's statement, however, than it is on the basis of Luther's.

Frangk's contribution to the emergence of the German common language is a theoretical, not a practical, one. The singular feature of his work is that it is the first to prescribe the sort of language that Luther and others only describe. Frangk misconstrues his contemporary linguistic situation, however, when he interprets the naturally evolving regional languages to be the result of deliberate attempts to regularize German. It has been suggested that Frangk is neither an anomaly nor a solitary voice, but that he rather points out the path that others follow.¹³² In the broader context of the development of the German common language this is true. Frangk is a transitional figure. He marks the beginning of a conscious movement to regularize a regional language that has been developing without prescription for some time. As an exponent of the early sixteenth-century German linguistic scene, however, Frangk is rather unusual. He is the only one prescribing a regularized supradialectal written and spoken German language at a time when others are equally articulate in their unabashed attempts to foster their own regional

dialects.¹³³ The typical features of Frangk's Orthographia are its indebtedness to the classical grammatical tradition, its amorphous distinctions between sound and letter, its exuberant and imaginative concern for the development of the German language. The call for a standardized supradialectal German language, however, while characteristic of the experimental quality of the early German linguistic treatises, is unique to Frangk. This fact is pertinent to our consideration of the Habsburg chancery language. It would be wrong to impute a concern with linguistic regulation to Maximilian's chancery on the assumption that Frangk's orientation toward language was typical either of his own generation or of the preceding generation represented by Maximilian's chancery.

SUMMARY

The preceding review of scholarship changes the traditional image of the Habsburg chancery language somewhat. It eliminates certain questions that have long been associated with the chancery dialect and brings into sharper focus those that will be explored in the remainder of this investigation.

The discussion of "Gemeines Deutsch" shows that the term may not simply be equated with the Habsburg chancery dialect. The modern concept of a common language, which has been associated with Gemeines Deutsch and hence with the Habsburg chancery language, does not have its origins in pre-Reformation Germany; it is a nineteenth-century interpolation. Three sixteenth-century German authors (Luther, Frangk, and Eck) writing shortly after 1530 draw attention to the language of Maximilian's chancery and establish its contemporary reputation. Not one of these authors suggests that the dialect was the sort of common language modern philologists assume it to have been. Luther's description, from which the entire modern investigation of the subject arises, suggests a regional language on the order of Gesner's Gemeindeutsch. But Frangk, who also proclaims the virtues of Maximilian's chancery language, further calls for the creation of a supradialectal German language and declares it already to be in

existence at the time of his writing. This isolated appeal for the artificial development of a regularized, supradialectal written and spoken German language to some extent legitimizes modern attempts to discover a developed German common language in the early sixteenth century. It does not justify the assumption that the written dialect of Maximilian's chancery was such a language, however; nor does it warrant attempts to establish this. The written professional language of the chancery cannot have been the regularized spoken German to which Frangk refers. But Maximilian's chancery dialect may have shown features common to both EUG and EMG written languages of the period and to both chancery and literary writing. In this case it could be considered a kind of written common language, which is actually all that the sixteenth-century sources suggest it was. The aspects of Maximilian's chancery language that make it useful for literary as well as business writing and render it somewhat supradialectal are in sixteenth-century German terms "orthographic." These features of the chancery dialect are considered in chapter 3.

To support the argument that Maximilian's chancery was a linguistically self-conscious agency that wrote a deliberately standardized language, historians of the German language introduce several ancillary issues. Some of these assumptions are based on incomplete information; some merit further investigation. Frederick III's interest in language standardization appears to be a nineteenth-century invention. Since there is no contemporary evidence to indicate such a concern, the following chapters concentrate on Maximilian's chancery and its language, and consider the chancery of his father only where it has bearing on the dialect or operations of the Habsburg chancery during Maximilian's reign. The accuracy of statements about Maximilian's role in the execution of chancery documents and about the standardization and geographic range of the chancery language can only be determined through a careful examination of the chancery, its production and procedures. This examination is also necessary to explain Eck's reference to Niclas Ziegler. Since the sixteenth-century grammars that have been associated

traditionally with Maximilian's chancery language cannot be produced, and because their relationship to the chancery dialect is much more tenuous than histories of the language have suggested, one must discount the linguistic awareness imputed to Maximilian's chancery unless other materials are discovered that support the claim. The place to look for such evidence is in the chancery itself.

THE HABSBURG CHANCERIES UNDER MAXIMILIAN I

"Die kaiserliche Kanzlei" is the catchall phrase that historians of the German language have used to describe the administrative network in which the Habsburg chancery dialect developed. In the handbooks it is often an imprecise synonym for the actual Reichskanzlei and may also refer to any of several specifically Habsburg chanceries. Although the kaiserliche Kanzlei is said to have been the arena for both administrative and linguistic reform, histories of the German language report little about the structure, operations, and production of this bureaucratic system. To understand Maximilian's role in chancery affairs, speculate about the linguistic climate in which Urkunden were produced, and determine the significance of various forms of chancery endorsement, it is necessary to examine several aspects of the history, structure, and procedures of Maximilian's chancery organization.

Three separate historical factors interweave to form the background against which the Habsburg chanceries and their language emerge in the late fifteenth century. The first is the tradition of the chancery as a conservative social institution that continued certain scribal practices from the late Roman Empire. The offices of the chancery and the forms of its production are a part of this tradition. The second is the development of the office of the Imperial Archchancellor and its attendant powers and prerogatives. The evolution of this office is directly related to the shifting

balance of power between church and state in Germany and between the elected Emperor and the Stände to which he was responsible. The last is the emergence of the House of Habsburg as a major dynastic power. In this period its continuing claim to the Imperial throne was not yet undisputed, and the Habsburg ancestral holdings were reorganized in an attempt to strengthen the political position of the Emperor and his line. One result of this reorganization was that a single chancery staff often handled both House and Imperial affairs.

These individual factors developed concurrently and interdependently. Which of them dominated conditions in the chanceries at any given time depended primarily on where the weight of political power rested at that moment. In years when the monarchy was weak, the Imperial Archchancellor attempted to gain influence in the political affairs of the Empire. At times when the power of the Emperor was great enough to permit him to bypass the Archchancellor without fear of interference from the Stände, the chancery activity at Court was crucial. The checks and balances that theoretically existed between the Emperor, the Estates, and the Electors in fact prevailed only when the monarchy was too weak to do anything but comply with the other standing authorities. Both Frederick and Maximilian favored the medieval centralized monarchial administration of the Empire, although Maximilian in his administrative reforms did take some steps toward the delegation of authority.¹³⁴ Control of the chancery was one of the stakes for which the monarch and the Estates contended; but even though the chancery figured centrally in this political tug-of-war, its internal everyday routines were not greatly affected by these external events. Whereas the orthography of chancery production may have changed somewhat between 1440 and 1519, the standardized formulae of the professional language changed very little in Habsburg chancery documents from the period.

Chanceries in the late Middle Ages were legal, business, and diplomatic offices concerned with administration, official correspondence, and the production of documents that could serve as legal records. Their activities ranged from routine clerical matters like

the recording of land transactions and wills to diplomatic and political issues of the highest order. Cities, wealthy nobles, and large clerical communities maintained chanceries to handle their correspondence, records, and bookkeeping. Itinerant and resident private notaries and Stuhlschreiber¹³⁵ wrote letters and made fair copies for the illiterate as well as for those who did not maintain their own chanceries. The routine activity of these offices was writing, and the legal and business documents they produced were highly standardized with respect to form. In general terms the internal operations of all the major German chanceries in this period were quite similar. This is certainly true of the Imperial chanceries.

By the late fifteenth century the Imperial chanceries had developed an organizational structure that divided chancery personnel into three broad strata.¹³⁶ At the lowest level were the simple copyists (schreyber) whose duties were basically confined to the penning, proofreading, and registration of chancery documents. Secretaries (secretarien) represented the middle level of the staff, and although their principal task was to draft, engross, and register chancery documents, they were also frequently used as diplomatic emissaries. It appears in fact that certain of Maximilian's secretaries functioned exclusively in the Emperor's private service and never wrote in the chanceries at all.¹³⁷ The highest level of chancery personnel included the Chancellor (kanzler), the advisors (räte), the senior secretaries (oberste secretarien), and the protonotaries. These positions were essentially political in nature, and although the individuals who occupied them were professional penmen and continued to discharge supervisory duties in the chancery, they were primarily concerned with the execution of Imperial policy.

The production of the chanceries can, according to Harry Bresslau, be divided into three general categories: (1) the written declarations (Urkunden) "that are intended to serve as depositions about events of a legal nature"; (2) the writings that arise from a ruler's intercourse with his subjects or employees; and (3) the intercourse of the latter with each other relating to the ordering,

preparation, introduction, or execution of a legal matter.¹³⁸ The issuance of a chancery document or Urkunde anywhere in Germany at this time was the result of a fairly standardized procedure, reflected in the chancery ordinances of 1494 and 1498 discussed below.

In very general terms the sequence of execution was as follows.¹³⁹ A matter might be referred to the chancery in either oral or written form. If brought orally, the text was dictated in the chancery and written in draft. The roughest form of a written draft was called the "angabe"; the completed written draft from which the final document was copied was variously called the "concept," "minute," "notel," "expeditio," or "copei."¹⁴⁰ If a petitioner submitted his case to the chancery in writing, his statement is referred to in modern diplomatics as an "Empfängerkonzept" because it was composed by the person (or his scribe) who would ultimately hold the Urkunde as a legal document.¹⁴¹ The redrafting of such submissions was often simply a matter of altering the diction or the formal aspects of the texts to conform to chancery style.¹⁴² The completed draft had to be presented to the head of the chancery for approval and signature before it could be referred to a scribe for final copying. This approval was called "expedition" and was often noted in abbreviated form (e.g., exp., ex., E) on the draft itself.¹⁴³ The actual copying was known as "mundieren" or "ingrossieren," the latter term deriving from the fact that the fair copies, or "originale," were normally written with larger strokes and in a more calligraphic style than the drafts. The fair copy was then proofread twice. First the scribe who penned it compared it with the draft; then he presented both draft and copy to a chancery secretary, who compared them a second time. In Maximilian's chanceries the secretary indicated his endorsement of the correct copy by his signature on the lower right corner of the document.¹⁴⁴

Registering outward-bound charters was a significant function of the chanceries. In an era when the forgery of documents was an art practiced from the highest¹⁴⁵ to the lowest strata of society and bribery an accepted if officially discouraged custom (see "The

"Taxator" and "Chancery Activity under Maximilian I" below), the need for a running record of official transactions was great. The chancery register provided this sort of record as well as patterns for new documents. Notarized copies of lost deeds, for example, might be issued on the basis of an entry in the chancery register. In the Habsburg chanceries at the turn of the sixteenth century, documents to be issued with hanging seals were registered. A draft to be registered was marked "registranda" and turned over to the chancery registrar, who copied it into the register. The draft was then compared with the register copy by a secretary. After the registered draft had been engrossed, the fair copy was marked "registrata" and in the Hofkanzlei was compared with the draft and the register entry by a ¹⁴⁶ secretary.

Although the practice of maintaining an official chancery register continued in some form in the Empire from the time of the Caesars through the period under investigation, ¹⁴⁷ the haphazard manner in which these records were kept casts doubt on the accuracy of many register entries. As the Reichskanzleiordnung of 1494 confirms, it was the drafts of Urkunden that were submitted for registration. Corrections made in the fair copies were therefore not recorded. Wilhelm Bauer, in his article on the practice of registration in Maximilian's Reichskanzlei, elaborates on the problems inherent in using drafts for this purpose. He notes that as a rule the dating of a draft was the final stage of its preparation and that these concepte frequently remained undated. They were then entered in the register with comments like "datum non reperitur in copia" and in some cases with the name of the scribe who had failed to supply the information, so that responsibility for the omission ¹⁴⁸ would not be fixed on the registrar.

THE IMPERIAL CHANCERY ORDINANCE
(REICHSKANZLEIORDNUNG) OF 1494

The Reichskanzleiordnung of 1494¹⁴⁹ provides a unique view of the routine internal operations of one of Maximilian's most important

chanceries. This document, issued by Berthold von Henneberg, Archbishop of Mainz and Imperial Chancellor, is the oldest surviving ordinance for the disposition of the German Imperial Chancery. Although the Reichskanzlei (Imperial Chancery)¹⁵⁰ is not the chancery with which Maximilian was most closely associated, its internal procedures and hierarchy should be considered typical of any of the major Habsburg chanceries during Maximilian's reign. Ferdinand Jančar argues convincingly that it is because internal chancery procedures are outlined in such detail in the Reichskanzleiordnung that they are omitted from the later chancery ordinances, which are discussed below.¹⁵¹ Although the 1494 Ordinance was not implemented exactly as written, it provides excellent general information on the activities of one of the Habsburg chanceries while introducing offices, procedures, and terminology that apply to them all.

If an UG Gemeindeutsch was fostered in the Habsburg chanceries, the Reichskanzleiordnung of 1494 should show some evidence of this linguistic interest. It is the most complete of the great chancery ordinances from Maximilian's reign, and it describes in detail the responsibilities of chancery personnel in executing official documents. When the Ordinance was issued, the Reichskanzlei was emerging as a distinct agency under the personal leadership of Berthold von Mainz. Both he and the Chancery were at Court during this period. Thus Maximilian was also to some extent directly involved with Imperial Chancery operations at this point. This may be significant in attempting to identify the chancery dialect with the person of the Emperor. The main reason for examining the Ordinance here, however, is to gain a detailed picture of the medieval German chancery tradition as it is preserved in Maximilian's administrative system. The document is divided into six sections, each outlining the duties of an officer or a group of officers of the Reichskanzlei. It is written from the standpoint of Archchancellor Berthold von Mainz. In paraphrasing this text and the other documents pertinent to Maximilian's chancery organization that are discussed later in the chapter,

I have attempted to replicate in English the archaic administrative diction of the ENHG originals.

The Secretaries

The descriptions of chancery posts in the Ordinance of 1494 appear in descending order of importance. The first duties listed are those of the secretaries. According to the Ordinance, the secretaries' first obligation (I,1) was to swear both to His Royal Highness (Maximilian) and to the Archchancellor (Berthold) fidelity, obedience, and presence (presumably in the chancery chambers to execute their duties). They were further to defend from harm, be of use to, and do their best for Emperor, Empire, and Archchancellor.

More specifically the secretaries were to devote their best understanding and industry to all drafts ("concepthen oder minuten") they were instructed to take. Before the secretaries engrossed fair copies, the drafts were to be read to the Archchancellor or his appointed underkanzler, who then signed the drafts (I,2). Once the copy was prepared, the secretary who had written the draft was to sit with the copyist, proofread the copy and correct any sort of error ("einichen mangel") he should discover, and sign it before it was taken to be sealed (I,3). Documents requiring registration were to be turned over to the registrar ("registrator") after they had been processed in the prescribed manner. The secretaries were to retain those documents that were exempt from registration. At the time of Maximilian such chancery materials often became the personal property of the senior secretaries. Although some efforts were made during his reign to establish a comprehensive Reichsarchiv, many state papers continued to remain in the hands of members and former members of the chancery through at least the first quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁵²

The Registrar

The second section of Berthold's chancery ordinance deals specifically with the process of registering documents and the duties of the registrator. The registrar was to record neatly in a book all

documents issued under hanging seals ("alle brief, so under anhangenden sigeln ausgeen"). He was either to do this himself or pay to have it done. The register entries were to be compared with or checked against ("collacionirt") the drafts to ensure that no error was written into the register (II,1). The registrar was further to write the word "registrata" on the outside of all letters,¹⁵³ especially of those with hanging seals; and beside that, his first and last names (II,2). He was to require appropriate payment ("zimlich leydlich belonung") of those bringing documents to be registered (this applied only to those bringing documents that did not originate in the Chancery) and was to do this in accordance with common practice ("wie in ubung herkommen unnd gewonheit ist," II,3). (The specific injunction to keep the registration fee within normal bounds suggests that there may indeed have been a tendency to do otherwise.)

This procedure indicates that a registered document from the Imperial Chancery during Maximilian's reign passed two screening checks after it was engrossed before it left the Chancery. These were apparently controls for accuracy of content. The fair copy was to be compared with the register entry "so that nothing incorrect would be found in the register" ("damit in dem register nichts ungerichts erfunden [werde]," II,1). Registered documents were the most carefully scrutinized products of the Chancery. There is nothing in the instructions to the secretaries or the registrar, however, to suggest that they were checked for conformity to a chancery orthographic standard.

The Scribes and Secretaries

The third section of the Ordinance pertains exclusively to the scribes (schreyber). Their oath of allegiance began exactly like that taken by the secretaries, but it also required them to write and execute to the best of their abilities anything the Archbishop, his designated chancellors, or the secretaries commanded at any time (III,1). The scribes were also to obey the chancellors and secretaries, quickly do the work assigned them, and proofread it against

the drafts before submitting the fair copies to the person who ordered them prepared (III,2).

The long fourth section lists regulations that applied to both the secretaries and scribes, the group constituting the bulk of the Chancery staff and responsible for most of its manuscript production. These provisions offer the greatest detail about the day-to-day concerns and operations of the Reichskanzlei. The first three items deal with allegiance to the Empire, Emperor, Archbishop, and the Chancery itself: secretaries and scribes were forbidden to serve, attend, or receive payment from any other sovereign, lord, or free state without the explicit knowledge and consent of the Archchancellor (IV,1). They were instructed never to reveal but rather to keep to themselves His Royal Majesty's or the Empire's secrets, regardless of whether these members of the Chancery saw, heard, wrote, or read such information in the Council of the Chancery ("im rate der cantzley") or elsewhere (IV,2). Neither were they to take other matters outside the Chancery nor in any way reveal its secrets to outside parties. They were expressly forbidden to give out copies of legal decisions ("urteylen") or of other business. Persons not connected with the Chancery were not to be permitted in the chambers of the Chancery or in the actual scriptorium where the writing was done. Strangers were not to be allowed to see, read, or search through Chancery drafts, registers, or other secret Chancery materials; and messengers were to be received and dealt with only outside of the Chancery chambers (IV,3).

Items 4, 5, 8, 14, and 15 specify how Maximilian's personal instructions and affairs are to be treated by members of the Reichskanzlei. These provisions are of particular interest because of the overt competition that existed between the Court and Imperial Chanceries in this period. The former was directly responsible to the Emperor; the latter was ostensibly under the direction of the Erzkanzler, Berthold von Mainz. In many areas the jurisdictions of the two agencies overlapped because Maximilian was reluctant to relinquish authority in chancery matters. With this in mind it is

interesting to note how Berthold dealt with Maximilian's intrusion into his sphere of influence in 1494, and how the internal priorities of the Chanceries changed in the Hofordnung and the Instruktion für die Hofkanzlei that Berthold exacted from Maximilian four years later. In 1494 the Emperor's affairs were still to receive priority.

"Unnd was auß der ku. mt. unß oder unnsrer cantzler oder auß beschlus des raths angeschaffen wurdet, furderlich verfertigen und sunderlich wes die ku. mt. selbs anschafft" (IV,4). That is, all matters ordered by His Royal Highness, Berthold, Berthold's chancellor, or by decision of the Council (i.e., der rat der cantzley, IV,2) were to be expedited, but Maximilian's own affairs were to be given particular attention. Item 5 further emphasizes this obligation of the Reichskanzlei: "Auch vleyssige aufsehens haben auf unnsers herrn des Romischen kunigs eigen sachen und darnach uf andere nottige sachen, damit dieselben der gepure nach furderlich gefertigt werden." The term "eigen" here refers not only to Maximilian's personal business, but also to the affairs of the House of Habsburg, which were in many cases distinct from his concerns as King of the Romans (Emperor elect) and later Emperor. The Chancery was obliged to perform any services Maximilian required of it—Imperial, monarchial, or personal.

Item 8 also singles out Maximilian's affairs for special attention: "Der ku. mt. unnd alle andere nottige sachen, der man gedechnus haben muß, sonderlich die versigelt verschreybung, [...] so auß seiner mt. selbs person unnd bevelh vllissen, [...] vleissiglich und trewlich zu verwaren und was not ist dem registrator zu überantwurten solchs zu registriern." In Item 15, chancellors, secretaries, and scribes are instructed to treat Maximilian's affairs with industry and before their other Chancery duties. The care and frequency with which Maximilian's requirements of the Chancery are mentioned in the 1494 Ordinance suggest that Berthold's authority as Erzkanzler was not absolute. It is also a reminder that between 1494 and 1498 the Imperial Chancery was at Court, where it could be directly influenced by Maximilian.

The scribes and secretaries were also given specific instructions about correcting fair copies. They were to proofread their

copies, taking particular care to avoid misspellings and improper usage ("verhuten, damit nit misschriben oder falsch gebraucht werde," IV,6). No letters, particularly letters patent or those written on vellum, were to be erased or altered "in sensitive areas" ("an argwonigen stetten"). Any emendation or correction that might cause the authenticity of the document to be questioned was forbidden. Thus changes in names, dates, and amounts necessitated recopying the document. Other corrections where possible were permitted, provided they were done with the knowledge of the underkanzler or secretary and by the scribe who had originally penned the document:

Auch keinen brief sonderlich pergamen- oder offenbrief an argwonigen stetten, als im namen oder zunamen in der summa der zall im datum tags oder iars und dergleichen sachen, radieren oder endern. ob aber an andern enden, die nit argwon auf im trugen, mißschryben were, so man dan solchs wol radiern mocht, sol alwegen mit unserm oder unsern cantzler oder secretarien wissen geschehen unnd mit des hant, der solchen brief geschryben heth, und keins andern handt widerumb geschryben werden. (IV,7)

This passage is of particular interest for our investigation of the linguistic climate of Maximilian's chanceries because it indicates that internal checks were intended primarily to guarantee the accuracy and authenticity of Reichskanzlei documents.

The Ordinance of 1494 prescribes the use of several seals in the execution of official documents.

Doch sollen der ko. mt. angeschaffen sachen vor andern alweg verfertigt secretirt oder gesigelt und nach gestallt der sachen hinweg geordent werden. Unnd was mit dem grossen sigel zu siglen ist sol unns und das ander unserm cantzler oder dem, der das kleyn sigel oder secreth auß unsern bevelh zu yeder zeith haben wurde, zu underschreyben furpracht werden. (IV,17-18)

Berthold refers here to at least two and possibly three seals: the "great seal" ("gross sigel"), or Majestätssiegel; the "secreth," a smaller seal roughly half the size of the great seal and used in its place;¹⁵⁴ and the "small seal" ("kleyn sigel"), which may have been the same as the secreth. Berthold apparently reserved the use of the great seal primarily to himself, whereas the secreth, or smaller

seal, was entrusted to his Chancellor and possibly to others. Histories of the German language imply that Maximilian personally influenced the language of documents under seal that proceeded "directly from the Emperor." Items 17 and 18 show, however, that officially sealed documents were regularly issued without the Emperor's participation and that the presence of the Majestätssiegel on a chancery document does not imply Maximilian's personal approval of the text.

Ein ieder soll dem stilum der cantzley nach allem vermogen halten und sich umb kein sach davon dringen lassen. wes er aber nit wissen heth, sollen allwege die jungen die eltern fragen, dieselben dan inen darinn gutlich underrichtung geben soll. Was auch einem yeden zustellt in der cantzley notturfftig zu sein, dardurch der ku. mt. ere nutz gefurdert auch der stilus gehalten werde, das soll er treulich anzeigen und ermanen. (IV,19-20)

This passage indicates clearly that there was an acknowledged manner of writing in the Reichskanzlei and that conformity to this norm was considered important. Although it is conceivable on the basis of Johann Eck's remarks in the dedication of his Ingolstadt Bible that the distinctive features of Maximilian's chancery language were orthographic, the context of the reference to chancery style ("stilus der cantzley") in the Reichskanzleiordnung of 1494 emphasizes the content and accuracy of Urkunden. This emphasis indicates that Berthold was concerned primarily with diction and syntax, which two examples cited by Bauer confirm:

[Wir wissen] doch, dass Bertold streng darauf sah dass der 'stilus der cantzley' eingehalten werde. So verbeserte man in einem für Trier eingelaufenem Konzepte reverendus pater in venerabilis pater, consanguinei in nepotis u. s. w. oder in einem anderen, das der Kanzlei des Markgrafen von Montferrat entstammte, die Poenformel, die mit Si quis autem begann in die mit Nulli ergo omnino etc.¹⁵⁵

The final part of this section (IV,21-28) offers a picture of the life of the lower ranks of the Chancery. As presented here the Reichskanzlei was not only a working unit but also a social entity. All secretaries and scribes were enjoined to live together in pleasant harmony ("gutter einickeit"), without defaming, bothering, or

injuring each other in word or deed, and with the younger members deferring to the older in all matters. Senior members were, however, supposed to instruct their juniors well (see IV,19-20 quoted above). Provision was made for discord in the company. In the event of difficulty, the problem was to be brought before the Chancellor without ado, and if he was unable to settle the matter, before the Archchancellor himself. Any who disregarded or made light of this injunction were subject to punishment or dismissal. Each member of the Chancery was expected to be in the chambers every morning after breakfast before seven in the summer and at around seven in the winter. Half the members had to be present at all times, but apart from this those who had finished their work might leave. When the Chancery was on the road (literally "wo wir unsern leger in stetten haben"), its members were expected to attend the Archchancellor wherever he went. Two of the youngest members were expected to wait the Chancery table.

The Taxator

The last major office described in the 1494 ordinance is that of the taxator, who collected fees for documents prepared in the Chancery. He was to swear the same oath as the scribes (V,1) and take charge of all documents completed in the Chancery, have them sealed without delay, and put them safely out of sight (V,2). He was not to give out any documents without payment except at the instruction of the Archchancellor, and he was to consult the Archchancellor if in doubt about the amount of a fee. He was not to change a standard fee or use his job to his own advantage; neither was he to accept bribes of any kind (V,3). The taxator was not to delay work because of a fee or the lack thereof, but was to do his work speedily (V,4). No document that had been taxed was to be released until the fee had been recorded in his register (V,5).¹⁵⁶ He was to record the income and expenditures of the Chancery and submit these accounts quarterly for an audit (V,7). Tips paid to Chancery gesellen were to be recorded, pooled, and at an appointed time divided among them according to their station and performance (V,8).

The Canntzleyknecht

The lowliest member of the Chancery community was the canntzleyknecht; his task was to provide for the physical comforts of the rest of the group. Although he was required to swear a modified oath of allegiance to the Archbishop and the Emperor, its emphasis was on obedience and his duties were quite simple. He had to clean the Chancery chambers, make the fires in winter, and watch the door, making sure that no unauthorized persons gained entrance to the Chancery itself or access to Chancery materials. The knecht was also responsible for food. He was to order only enough to feed the members, save any leftovers after meals, and prevent nonmembers from cadging a free dinner (VI).

Summary

One might infer from the Reichskanzleiordnung of 1494 that the Imperial Chancery of the late fifteenth century was an efficient and highly organized agency in which industrious scribes worked together congenially for the good of the Emperor and for their own advancement. The provisions concerning the ordering of food, the allotment of leisure time, the pooling of tips, and the instruction of younger scribes suggest a closely knit group that placed great emphasis on the common good. In fact nothing could be farther from the conditions actually prevailing in the chancery system at this time. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries these offices were rife with corruption and petty intrigues, and Maximilian's own chancery was no exception.¹⁵⁷ Thus the more pertinent stipulations of the Ordinance are not those providing for group unity but those prohibiting various sorts of corruption. That chancery members had to be specifically forbidden to accept bribes, delay the execution of documents for gain, and disrupt the harmony of the little community attests to the dissension and subornation common in the chanceries of the time. Accounts of the operation of the Imperial Chancery from both before and after the period of Berthold's tenure

indicate that these conditions persisted throughout the reigns of Frederick and Maximilian.

In his biography of Aeneas Silvius (later Pope Pius II), Georg Voigt offers a description of the Italian's experiences in the Reichskanzlei at the beginning of the reign of Frederick III. According to this account based on Aeneas Silvius' own statements, the talented humanist secretary found life in the Chancery anything but harmonious in the early 1440s. The Imperial Chancellor delegated his duties to a vice chancellor, who had absolute control of all subordinate Chancery personnel. Only a few secretaries were salaried; the lesser copyists only received room and board and whatever payment their superiors saw fit to give them for specific tasks, plus an occasional gift or tip. The regular fee charged for the execution of a chancery charter went to the Chancellor, and giving the copyist a gratuity ("bibalia") was left to the discretion of the client. Scribes were not permitted to ask for tips when they prepared documents for which the Chancery did not charge a fee. All letters for the King and the Royal Court were prepared free of charge. The Chancellor could dismiss staff members at any time.¹⁵⁸

In light of these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that half a century later Berthold still had to specify that the Emperor's affairs would be given highest priority in the Reichskanzlei. Otherwise Maximilian's business would have come after assignments from the Chancery's paying clientele. It also becomes apparent why the copyists' tips were withheld and then divided evenly among all the lesser members of the Chancery. In the absence of such an arrangement, some of the scribes would have been utterly without income.

The living arrangements of the Chancery staff were rather bleak. Scribes ate at a common table and slept in the same room. Except for those who rose to positions of political prominence and availed themselves of the opportunities for social and financial gain, life in the Reichskanzlei was trying. Aeneas Silvius' indictment of the Chancery is quite bitter:

Es giebt, glaube mir, [. . .] kein härteres Heerlager als Fürstenhöfe, wo Neid, Eifersucht, Verleumdung, Haß, Feindschaft, Schande, Beleidigungen und unendliche Pein zu Hause sind, Dinge, die nur durch Geduld überwunden werden können.¹⁵⁹

The Imperial Chancery Ordinance of 1494 is the most detailed picture of the internal organization and routine operation of a Habsburg chancery that is available for the period from 1440 to 1519. For this reason additional answers to the questions of chancery procedures, policies, and orientation must be sought elsewhere. Some answers are suggested by later chancery ordinances that offer information about the larger political concerns of the Habsburg administrative agencies, some by the historical circumstances of the Habsburg chanceries, and others by the contemporary production of the chanceries themselves.

THE OFFICE OF THE IMPERIAL ARCHCHANCELLOR

During the reigns of Frederick and Maximilian, the Archbishop of Mainz played a significant role in the course of chancery activities within the Empire. This was due not only to the implicit powers of the Imperial and Archiepiscopal thrones, but also to the individuals occupying each at a time when the center of power oscillated between the monarch and the Stände (often joined by the Archbishop of Mainz). The personalities holding these key political positions were crucial in determining how each office developed and how much influence it retained. The offices that exerted the greatest influence over the Imperial chancery system and could thus have affected the language it wrote were those of the Imperial Chancellor and of the Emperor himself. The rivalry for control of the Imperial Chancery that had been evolving between these offices for centuries became acute in the late fifteenth century, when the contenders were Maximilian I and Berthold von Henneberg. The following summary of this development is based primarily on the research of Gerhard Seeliger and of Ferdinand Jančar.

The Imperial Archchancellor before 1440

By the time of Frederick Barbarossa, the Holy Roman Empire was divided into three major parts (Germany, Italy, and Burgundy), and the same Court staff was headed by a different prince of the Church when it traveled into each of these areas. Hence the Court Chancery of the Emperor functioned as an Italian authority when in Italy and as a Burgundian authority when in Burgundy. The lesser personnel was the same in both cases and only the director of the staff, the archchancellor, changed. Although largely a matter of form during this early period, there were three separate archchancellors, one for each of the regions, and documents issuing from the individual areas were executed under the auspices of the individual archchancellors. The twelfth century already saw each of these archchancellorships in the firm grasp of a specific archbishopric: the Archbishop of Mainz was automatically Archchancellor of Germany, that of Cologne was Archchancellor of Italy, and that of Vienne was Archchancellor of Burgundy. The archchancellors were among the most prominent officials in the Empire and enjoyed extensive privileges outside the jurisdiction of the Chancery itself. In 1147 there was even some thought of authorizing the Archbishop of Mainz to supervise the administration of the Empire at times when the monarch was absent.¹⁶⁰

Although the three archbishops bore the same title within the hierarchy of the Empire, the powers attending their individual offices were far from equal. As the circumstances of the Empire changed, the Italian and Burgundian chancellors dwindled in stature. The Burgundian chancellorship, for example, had to be transferred from the Archbishopric of Vienne to that of Trier as Imperial power receded in the face of French pressure.¹⁶¹ The significance of the Archchancellorship of Germany, however, which had been controlled by Mainz since 965, continued to grow. The first major step in this development after the Hohenstaufen period occurred in 1298.

In a Privileg issued on 13 September 1298, King Albrecht clarified general concessions that had been made to Mainz during the reign

of King Adolf, and he guaranteed the Archchancellor of Germany not only a tenth of the annual Jews' Tax but also the right to name the Hofkanzler (Court Chancellor).¹⁶² Theoretically this concession is of tremendous importance because it takes the direction of the highest magistracy in the Empire out of the hands of the monarch and places it under the complete control of Mainz. Having once acquired this right to influence the direction of the Hofkanzlei, the Archiepiscopal throne never totally surrendered it or ceased to maintain its claim to the privilege, although there were periods when it was unable to exercise its authority. Indeed the influence of Mainz on the Court Chancery increased over the next two hundred years and, despite several major setbacks, reached its high-water mark during the reign of Maximilian I.

On the other hand, the very fact that the German Archchancellor's power was greater than that of his counterparts for Italy and Burgundy prevented Mainz's being accorded certain privileges enjoyed by the other Chancellors. The Archbishop of Cologne was formally obliged to supervise Chancery activities in Italy, for example, and the Archbishop of Trier was to receive an income from his chancery that in no way depended on his presence in or direction of the office itself. Despite concessions made to the German Archchancellor, however, there was never any thought of allowing him to administer his agency personally. Seeliger explains this quite simply:

Ihm [dem Trierer] wurden Rechte zugesprochen, welche der König ohne große Schädigung seines Ansehens dem Mainzer nimmer gewähren durfte. Denn was für den einen ohne thatsächlichen Wert bleiben mußte, das bedeutete für den anderen eine dauernde Uebernahme der Reichskanzlei mit allen finanziellen und politischen Rechten der selbständigen Verwaltung.¹⁶³

He adds, however, that despite the Privilegien giving the Italian and Burgundian Chancellors the powers described above, neither of them ever assumed the personal direction of the Chancery when the Emperor was in his territory, and the same Chancery personnel from the German magistracy worked in Italy or Burgundy on these trips.¹⁶⁴ This

pattern of a single chancery accompanying the monarch on his journeys continued through the reign of Maximilian.

Though Mainz was not yet to be allowed to direct the German Chancery personally, the Elector won new concessions during the reign of Henry VII. At this time the Archchancellor gained the right to name the Chancery protonotary and notaries as well as the Chancellor himself.¹⁶⁵ For the German portion of the Empire ("deutsche Nation") there does not appear to have been a dual chancery system at this time, one staff concerned exclusively with Imperial matters and one concerned with the House and Court affairs of the elected monarch. As Seeliger presents the situation, there was a single German Chancery that followed the itinerary of the Emperor, and it apparently handled matters in both spheres of activity. This further underscores the import of the privileges granted to Mainz in 1498. The Archbishop received the right to appoint the chief members of the administrative staff that handled not only the affairs of the Empire, but also the personal and dynastic matters of the sovereign. The right to appoint the protonotary and notaries should have further increased Mainz's influence in what was essentially the Emperor's own chancery.

Bresslau, however, tempers this view somewhat. He notes that though the Archchancellor had the right to fill these positions, he exercised it very little, particularly in the case of the lesser chancery offices. Rather, the recommendation of the appointed Chancellor was most important in filling the protonotary position, though the actual naming and removal of protonotaries lay totally in the hands of the King.¹⁶⁶

The Golden Bull of Charles IV (10 January 1356) reversed what had become the Emperor's official attitude toward the Archchancellors; the Archbishops were now deprived *de jure* of the rights the Emperor had long since reclaimed *de facto*. The 1356 declaration makes no mention of the Archbishops' right to name chancery personnel, and its stipulations about their personal direction of the Chancery effectively revoke the concessions made in earlier Privilegien. The Hofkanzler alone was given the supervision of the Chancery and the

custody of the great Imperial seal, which was to be turned over to the Archchancellors for ceremonial occasions only and returned immediately thereafter to the Hofkanzler. This action effectively pulled the Imperial Chancery back totally into the Emperor's sphere of influence. Under the Emperor-appointed Hofkanzler, the magistracy became an administrative agency of the Court. The Archbishop did not accept this situation without protest, but despite repeated demands from Mainz that the Elector be allowed to exercise his traditional rights in naming Imperial Chancery personnel, the claims went essentially unheeded during the reigns of Ruprecht, Jobst, Sigmund, and Albrecht II.¹⁶⁷

The Imperial Archchancellor under Frederick III

When Frederick III's reign began in 1440 the situation was as follows: for nearly a century Mainz had been deprived of direct influence at the Imperial Court, but the successive Electors had continued to badger the throne for a restoration of the old privileges. In 1440 Archbishop Dietrich tried again. He appointed Bishop Leonhard of Passau to lead the Court Chancery. Frederick ignored the matter and had Konrad, Provost of St. Stefan, who had served him as Austrian Chancellor before his election to the Imperial throne, continue to direct his Hofkanzlei. The next year Mainz tried the same ploy, this time appointing Jakob, Archbishop of Trier, to the post. Dietrich sent his appointee to Austria, and though Frederick did not acknowledge in writing the privileges of the Archchancellor for Germany, he did turn the seals over to Jakob. Jakob was sworn in as Hofkanzler in Wiener Neustadt on 31 July 1441.¹⁶⁸ This is an interesting reversal of the pattern that emerged between 1298 and 1356. In that period the occupants of the Imperial throne retained sufficient power to be able to make the Archchancellors official concessions that they in practice were prevented from enjoying. Here a weaker monarch makes actual concessions to Mainz while refusing official acknowledgement of the Elector's claims.

Jakob's tour of duty was rather short. He left Frederick's Court in 1441 and had returned to his archiepiscopal holdings by December of the same year. Though away from Court, Jakob still retained his title and functioned as the head of Frederick's Chancery during the Emperor's visits to Nuremberg, Frankfurt, and Aachen in the late spring of 1442. After this time, however, the remarkable Kaspar Schlick (see "Chancery Activity under Maximilian I" below), who had also served as Chancellor to Sigmund and Albrecht II, became Frederick's Hofkanzler. From this point and for the duration of Frederick's reign, the influence of the Archchancellor on the activity of the Imperial Chancery was eclipsed. The only time during his entire reign when Frederick seems to have felt obliged to acknowledge Mainz's claim was the year following his election. After that he promptly reclaimed his right to run the Chancery in his own way, as an administrative office at Court and with his own Chancellors.¹⁶⁹

Jančar shows that Frederick III, whether for logistical or political reasons, limited the independence of the Reichskanzlei during his reign by assigning important matters of Imperial business to members of his personal staff. This staff, on the other hand, seems at least in part to have been detailed from the Imperial Chancery; so the issue is one of executive authority, not of scribal personnel or usage. When Frederick came to the throne there was a single chancery, the Imperial Chancery, that handled both the Emperor's affairs and those pertaining to his ancestral holdings.¹⁷⁰ Although Frederick did create an Austrian (House) Chancery from this body in 1442 to treat matters concerning the Erblände, the jurisdictions of the two staffs continued to overlap. Specific scribes were assigned to one or the other of the chanceries, and distinctive closing formulae (see "Commissions" below) were developed to distinguish Imperial documents from House documents. Nevertheless the two groups continued to share responsibilities and personnel. By assigning important Imperial business to his own secretaries, Frederick effectively nullified the political significance of the Imperial Chancellor as a check to monarchial power. These circumstances reduce the

importance of the difference between the written languages of the Imperial and House chanceries during Frederick's reign, since many Imperial documents were actually written by Frederick's Austrian, or House, staff.¹⁷¹

Although an Imperial reform drafted in 1460 called for an expansion of Mainz's power, increasing the Archchancellor's political and financial stature, nothing came of this during Frederick's reign. The Archiepiscopal position, which had already been too weak in 1441 to maintain its appointees in their posts in the Hofkanzlei, was further reduced by an internecine struggle in the Electorate. In 1463 Adolf of Nassau challenged Dietrich for the Archiepiscopal throne. Dietrich withdrew, but Adolf's position was still so tenuous that it required Frederick's support. In return for the Emperor's assistance Adolf issued a statement on 31 October 1463 renouncing all claim to the right to direct the Imperial Chancery or to enjoy income from it during Frederick's lifetime.¹⁷²

Wirklich hat sich unter Friedrich das Verhältnis des Erzkanzlers zu der Reichskanzlei nicht mehr verändert. Auch die Verwaltung derselben durch Erzbischof Adolf [...] hat den staatsrechtlichen Zustand, welchen die Versprechungen des Jahres 1463 geschaffen, in keiner Weise beeinträchtigt. Denn als ein Beamter des Kaisers versah der Mainzer gleich seinen Vorgängern im Kanzleramte unter nicht außergewöhnlichen Bedingungen am wandernden Kaiserhofe den Dienst eines Kanzleivorstandes.¹⁷³

Seeliger's statement makes plain the extent of the interdependence of the Habsburg House and Imperial Chanceries during the reign of Frederick III. Under Adolf the Imperial Chancery is with the House Chancery at Court. Together they form a single administrative staff, that group of itinerant scribes, nobles, and diplomats that followed the movements of the Emperor. Thus, at the end of Frederick's reign as at its beginning, there was for all practical purposes a single major chancery. The Imperial Chancellor, Adolf of Nassau, was the executive head of this office, and he served more or less in the capacity of the undercantzler described in the 1494 Reichskanzleiordnung. He was not an autonomous figure empowered to make

policy, and he was the agent of the Emperor, not of the Stände. This pattern, which continued the medieval tradition of Frederick's predecessors, changed dramatically for a time under Maximilian.

The Imperial Archchancellor under Maximilian I

In order to be elected German King in 1486, Maximilian needed the vote of Berthold von Henneberg, the Archbishop and Elector of Mainz. He bought this at a high price that for a time considerably changed the role of the German Archchancellor in the administrative affairs of the Empire. In return for Berthold's vote, Maximilian granted Mainz the right to direct the Imperial Chancery personally and to enjoy certain prerogatives of the archchancellorship even when he was not present at Court. These included the rights to issue documents under seal and to receive a portion of the Chancery revenues.¹⁷⁴ The concessions are considerable. In them Mainz achieved the goal toward which it had been striving for two hundred years: the right to direct the highest magistracy in the Empire.

The political potential of the Imperial Chancery made it a plum worth vying for. Until Maximilian's reign Mainz had basically led an administrative office at Court under the supervision of the Emperor. The terms of Maximilian's concessions, however, made possible, at least in theory, the development of an entirely new chancery structure. If all Imperial Chancery documents were to be executed under the Archbishop's supervision and he was not required to be at Court, the administration of the Reichskanzlei might develop in any of several ways. If the Archbishop remained at Court (the situation delineated in the 1494 Ordinance), he would function as the administrative head of the Imperial Chancery, enjoying a degree of autonomy within the Chancery itself, but remaining subordinate to the Emperor, who could intervene at any moment. In this case he would act as an undercantzler, and the power of policy would rest with the monarch. If the Archbishop left Court, the physical distance between the party wishing to issue edicts, etc. (the Emperor) and the party empowered to authorize their execution (the Archbishop) would either cause both

to issue legal documents independently of each other (effectively creating two chanceries) or it would cause one to wrest power from the other (again focusing chancery activity in one place). Each of these eventualities occurred during Maximilian's reign.

Although Berthold was promised these concessions in 1486, they were not reaffirmed to him officially until May of 1494, after the death of Frederick III.¹⁷⁵ Berthold seems to have arrived at Court late in June of that year and by October, as indicated by the Reichskanzleiordnung examined above, had assumed control of the Chancery. During the years between 1486, when he was elected King, and 1494, when he actually took over the governance of the Empire, Maximilian began to make the institutional reforms associated with his reign. The basic impulse behind many of them appears to have been Maximilian's desire to decentralize administrative responsibility in order to allow the various regional agencies to function efficiently in his absence. Jančar has even speculated that the Chancery as an independent institution would have ceased to exist as a result of the administrative reforms if the newly created agencies had been better organized.¹⁷⁶ Many of Maximilian's experiments in administrative organization were short-lived, however, and several of the offices he created, particularly those concerned with the financial administration of the Erblände, went through a variety of changes during his reign. For the present investigation of the Habsburg chancery dialect, we need only be concerned with those changes that directly affected Maximilian's chancery system and may have influenced the German it wrote.

In 1490 Maximilian began reorganizing the Lower Austrian territories. These included Austria Above and Below the Enns, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. The following year he authorized a governing council (die Statthalter und Räthe zu Wien) to administer all five territories in his absence. After Frederick's death this ad hoc group became a standing administrative body and was known as the "Regiment zu Wien." It had its own Hofrat, Hofkammer, and Chancery. The chancery requirements of all the Vienna agencies were met by the

Austrian Chancery (Österreichische Kanzlei); this was directed by the Austrian Chancellor (Österreichischer Kanzler), who was a member of most of the agencies his chancery staff served.¹⁷⁷ When the Vienna Hofrat was dissolved in 1502, the Austrian Chancellor assumed its functions.¹⁷⁸

Similarly, Maximilian established a Tyrolean Regiment and Chancery in 1490 to administer the Upper Austrian region. This reorganization was simpler to implement than the Lower Austrian reform. The Tyrolean administrative system was already relatively advanced by comparison with other contemporary systems, particularly in the areas of finance and accounting. In addition to this, Maximilian became the independent ruler of Tirol when Archduke Sigmund abdicated in 1490; thus he was able to regularize the institutional changes he made from the outset here, where he did not rule at his father's pleasure. The Tyrolean Chancellor headed the Ländergruppenkanzlei in Innsbruck and was a member of the Regiment.¹⁷⁹

As a result of this regional reorganization, Maximilian had four major chanceries by the beginning of his Imperial reign in 1493: the Austrian and Tyrolean Ländergruppenkanzleien in Vienna and Innsbruck, and the Reichskanzlei and the Hofkanzlei at Court. The latter two were separated only when Berthold assumed the direction of the Imperial Chancery in 1494. When this occurred, Conrad Stürtzel, the former head of Maximilian's Reichskanzlei, became the leader of his Hofkanzlei; and Hans Waldner, who had handled the affairs of the Court Chancery, was made Austrian Chancellor; the other personnel remained the same.¹⁸⁰ This transfer of personnel within Maximilian's administrative service is rather typical. His agencies often overlapped not only in jurisdiction but also in personnel. Authority was loosely defined and there was little central coordination. Maximilian's individual retainers frequently served him in more than one capacity and in more than one of his agencies. In seeking the Habsburg chancery with which Maximilian was personally associated and in which an UG Gemeindeutsch may have been fostered, then, we are confronted not with a chancery but with chanceries, not with one seal

but with many, and not with a single body empowered to act in Maximilian's name but with several that functioned relatively independently.

Only the chanceries that accompanied Maximilian's peripatetic court (the Reichskanzlei for a brief time after 1494 and the Hofkanzlei) are of concern for this investigation, since these are the only chanceries with which Maximilian was in regular personal contact. If Maximilian affected chancery practice, the production of these chanceries should show that influence. These are also the chanceries in which Niclas Ziegler served. If Ziegler instituted an orthographic reform, his own diplomatic production and the fair copies penned in his chancery should reflect it. Furthermore, the regional authorities were authorized to issue Urkunden independently,¹⁸¹ thus the production of the Ländergruppenkanzleien does not imply the supervision of Maximilian or of Reichs- or Hofkanzlei personnel. Of the two chanceries at Court the Hofkanzlei merits closest attention because it was Maximilian's own chancery and it worked with his personal staff. It treated matters of particular significance to the Emperor throughout Maximilian's reign, including the period between 1494 and 1502 when the Reichskanzlei functioned under the separate leadership of Berthold von Mainz.

Until 1494 Maximilian conducted the business of the Empire through his personal and court staffs. His Hofkanzlei together with the Tyrolean Chancery at Innsbruck handled the ongoing daily affairs of the Empire between Frederick's death and Maximilian's return to Germany in 1494.¹⁸² Berthold's arrival at Court and his assumption of the leadership of the Reichskanzlei in the same year were in themselves milestones in Mainz's continuing attempt to gain control of the Imperial Chancery. The titular change of leadership did not mean, however, that Maximilian had conceded to Berthold unequivocal control of the Reichskanzlei. It was evident that Berthold intended to break with the precedent of other Archchancellors by attempting to turn his office into an independent agency from which he could conduct his political opposition to the throne in Imperial affairs.¹⁸³ For this reason Maximilian and prominent members of the Hofkanzlei resisted

Berthold, relinquishing to him as little authority as possible. If Berthold were allowed to become a powerful force in the Imperial Chancery he could exert greater influence on the Reichsregiment. Maximilian worked with members of his Hofkanzlei and Hofrat (Court Council) to prevent this.¹⁸⁴ They were in part able to do this because of the overlapping jurisdictions of the Imperial and Court Chanceries and the interface of personnel between the chancery staffs.

Berthold seems to have taken over the direction of the Reichskanzlei late in June 1494. He accompanied Maximilian to the Lowlands that year, spent part of the winter there, and in February went south with the Court to the Diet of Worms (1495), where both remained for nearly a year.¹⁸⁵ The great Reichskanzleiordnung issued at Mecheln in October 1494 is evidence of Berthold's efforts to strengthen the position of the Imperial Chancery at the outset of his tenure in office. By the end of 1495, however, Berthold complained officially to Maximilian about Hofkanzler Stürtzel's failure to cooperate with him:

Allergnedigster herr. unser gnediger herr der ercz-bischoff zu Menncz hat uns an hewt muntlichen ersetzt, ob wir von ewr ku. mt. dheinen bevelch haben, mit ewr ku. mt. canczler doctor Cunraten Stürczl zuschaffen, das sigl, so er hat, seinen furstlichen gnaden zuant-wurten, so hat uns derselb canczler doctor Cunrat zuerkennen geben, wie ewr ku. mt. im dasselb sigl bevolhen und zugesagt hab, im das bey seinen handen zelassen. des er sich also halten welle. solchs wolten wir ewr ku. mt. unverkunt nit lassen.¹⁸⁶

This squabble over the seal is one of the first documented skirmishes between the two chanceries, and it takes place while they are both still at Court. Appeal is made here to an anything but impartial arbiter. If Maximilian had wanted Berthold to have the seal, one assumes he would have given it to him; Stürtzel's reaction was probably not due to a misunderstanding. Although Maximilian was obliged both through his 1494 affirmation of the Archchancellor's rights and the Worms Resolutions (Wormser Beschlüsse) of 1495 to grant Mainz considerable autonomy in the Imperial Chancery, he tended to overlook Berthold's claim except when he was in difficulty with

the Stände. A part of Maximilian's strategy to prevent the Stände from dominating the government was to organize, staff, and retain control of the key Court and Imperial offices. Thus his supporters in the Hofkanzlei, Stürtzel, Serntein, and Lang, conceded as little authority as possible to the Reichskanzlei.¹⁸⁷ Predictably this pattern continues in 1496, when the two chanceries go in different directions.

The reasons for Maximilian's frequent circumvention of the Reichskanzlei after this physical separation in 1496 were practical as well as political. If more than one revision of a document had to be agreed to by both chanceries or by Maximilian himself, the delay involved in shuttling the text back and forth between staffs was considerable. Though some attempts were made to refer concepte from one chancery to the other for approval,¹⁸⁸ the Reichskanzlei and Hofkanzlei began to function quite independently of each other.

In February of 1498 Maximilian proclaimed officially in a detailed Hofordnung that the Hofrat and Hofkanzlei were authorized to act in matters pertaining to both the Empire and the Erblande, a jurisdiction these agencies had long since claimed in practice. Berthold did not, however, abandon his attempt to see certain rights guaranteed exclusively to the Reichskanzlei. During the summer of 1498 while he was once again at Court, Berthold had the opportunity to buttress the position of his chancery. Maximilian was in financial straits; he sought Imperial funds to solve his difficulties and needed Berthold's support to secure these. This enabled the Archbishop to force Maximilian to execute two further ordinances that spelled out the specific prerogatives and duties of the Reichskanzlei and the Hofkanzlei.¹⁸⁹ Parts of the three ordinances are pertinent to our investigation of the environment in which the Habsburg chancery language was written during Maximilian's reign; we will return to these after pursuing the contest for control of the Reichskanzlei to its conclusion. The 1498 ordinances plainly separate the chanceries' spheres of activity. Nevertheless the competition between the two

increased, and the Hofkanzlei continued to issue documents which should clearly have been in the domain of the Reichskanzlei.

In 1500 at the Diet of Augsburg a new constitution was adopted giving the government of the Stände (the Reichsregiment) the highest powers in the Empire and the Archbishop of Mainz the responsibility for staffing and directing its chancery.¹⁹⁰ Although this strengthened Berthold's legal claim to the right to operate the Reichskanzlei as an independent agency, it also put his position in greater jeopardy because the constitutional recognition made him a greater threat to Maximilian's sovereign authority. The new constitution made the Archchancellor a privileged official of the Stände, with which Maximilian was always at odds. As an organ of the Reichsregiment, completely independent of the Court Chancery, the Reichskanzlei under Berthold's direction was no longer acceptable to Maximilian. When the Stände entered into diplomatic negotiations with foreign powers without consulting the Emperor, Maximilian caused the dissolution of the Nuremberg Reichsregiment.¹⁹¹ On 21 March 1502, Maximilian demanded that Berthold surrender the royal seal.¹⁹² This marked the end of the separate Reichskanzlei, which had come into being only eight years earlier. At this point the Hofkanzlei resumed the functions that had temporarily been taken over by Berthold's chancery (functions it had in many cases continued to perform throughout this period anyway), and it assumed again its old role as the chief administrative office of the Empire. It is on this Hofkanzlei, its tenor, personalities, and production that our investigation of Maximilian's chancery language must focus.

THE CHANCERY ORDINANCES OF 1498

The ordinances¹⁹³ Maximilian drafted in 1498 concerning the administrative organization of his government merit special attention because they present, when taken together, a picture of the inter-relationship between the Imperial and Court Chanceries, the Court Council, and the governments of the Ländergruppen (of which Niederösterreich and Oberösterreich were the most significant).

One of them also names some of the personalities who have been associated with the emergence of the Habsburg language. It describes their regular offices, thus allowing us to see what their proximity to Maximilian and his clerical staff was and to consider whether their duties would have permitted them to effect the linguistic changes attributed to them. The 1498 ordinances also offer a detailed picture of the keeping of the chancery seals and indicate who was supposed to have had access to them. Of the various 1498 decrees describing Habsburg administrative agencies,¹⁹⁴ the three that are of primary concern for the development of the chancery language under Maximilian are the Hofordnung of 13 February, the Reichskanzleiordnung of 12 September, and the fragment of an Instruktion für die Hofkanzlei, which Thomas Fellner dates 12 September 1498 as well.¹⁹⁵ Having already examined the internal procedures of one contemporary Habsburg chancery in discussing the Reichskanzleiordnung of 1494 above, we will consider here only those portions of the more recent directives that offer additional information on pertinent chancery subjects: chancery style and personnel; the control, endorsement, and certification of chancery documents; the role of the Emperor in chancery affairs.

The Hofordnung

The first portion of the Hofordnung¹⁹⁶ is concerned with the legitimization and jurisdiction of the Hofrat. Because of its membership and the immense authority that it exercised, this agency is particularly important in an investigation of the circumstances under which Maximilian's chancery language developed.

Zum ersten so verordnen wir hiemit unser hofrete, so
jczo ungeverlich bei uns seien und die wir bisher in
unsern eignen gescheften gepraucht haben, zu unsern
obristen regenten, also das si alle und jeglich hendel
sachen und gescheften, so künfticlich von dem heiligen
reiche deutscher nacion gemainer cristenheit oder
unsern erblichen fürstenthumben und landen herfliessen,
desgleichen auch was unsern kuniclichen hofe und
dasselben verwandten betreffen wirdet ganz nichts aus-
genommen hören, die eigentlichen und nach allen notdurf-
ten und fleis erwegen und ermessen und darauf dieselben
hendel und sachen nach irem maisten rate durch unser
gewöhnlich hofsinsigel titel und secret, inmassen wir

bisher gepraucht haben, verfertigen mögen; doch was gros und swere hendel seien, sollen si zuvor uns anbringen, unsren besluss und willen darauf zu empfahen, des wir inen dann hiemit unser ganz volkommen gewalt und macht geben.¹⁹⁷

From a legal standpoint this is a remarkable statement when one remembers that the Reichskanzlei, though not at Court when this ordinance was issued, was still very much in existence under Berthold's direction at the time and was still the chancery through which Imperial matters were supposed to be channeled. The Hofordnung demonstrates Maximilian's refusal to concede this authority to the Archbishop of Mainz.

In this document Maximilian regularizes his council of hand-picked advisors (hofrete) by officially making them his highest regents; he then gives them authority in affairs pertaining not only to the Court and the Erblande, but also to all matters concerning the Empire. He gives them three seals, the hofsinsigel, the titel, and the secreth, and requires that they consult him only in great and difficult matters.¹⁹⁸ This statement attests to Maximilian's unwillingness to withdraw from Imperial affairs.

The newly recognized Council was to meet daily, as need required, in morning and afternoon session. At these meetings two secretaries were to be present, one to read aloud the matter under consideration and the other to note the Council's recommendation concerning it. This recommendation was to be written with the knowledge of the Chancellor, or in his absence with the approval of his Senior Secretary (obrister secretari). The Chancellor or Senior Secretary was then to take the recommendations written in the preceding Council session, read them again, inquire personally whether they recorded accurately the majority opinion of the Council, and if so, return them to the two Council secretaries to be engrossed. The fair copies were then to be read once more in the next session of the Council and signed immediately by Elector Frederick of Saxony (in Maximilian's stead) and by the Chancellor or Senior Secretary. No document was to be signed except at the Council's direction. The approved recommendations were to be sealed in the Council by the two secretaries.

MS. C of the Hofordnung names several of the individuals besides the Saxon Elector who held the positions on Maximilian's Court Council just described. Conrad Stürtzel, who had been Berthold's opponent in the dispute over the surrender of the seal in 1495, was still Hofkanzler in 1498 and became a member of the Hofrat through this ordinance. Cyprian Serntein is named as the Senior Secretary, and Mathis Wurm and Niclas Ziegler are listed as the two Council secretaries.

The Hofrat was explicitly empowered to act in Imperial matters. Its select membership (which included the Hofkanzler, Hofmarschall, and Hofmeister, the Senior Secretary and the Council secretaries, but not the Imperial Archchancellor) guaranteed that it would conduct its affairs in a manner pleasing to the Emperor. The appointment of Frederick the Wise to oversee the Hofrat¹⁹⁹ should be seen in conjunction with the exclusion of Berthold von Mainz from the Council. It was certainly another of Maximilian's attempts to bring all the affairs of the Reichskanzlei back under the control of his own chancery and advisors. As Wiesflecker notes, the Emperor seems to have overreached himself by snubbing Berthold and bringing the Saxon Elector into the Hofrat,²⁰⁰ however, and the ill-considered arrangement was short-lived. Naming Frederick to the Council not only deepened the existing antagonism between Mainz and the Emperor, but it also worried some of Maximilian's Upper German confidants. Probably sensing the precariousness of his position, Frederick quickly left both the Court and the new Court Council.²⁰¹ Thus the circumstances that placed one of the two princes Luther associated with the unification of the German language at the head of the other's chancery council lasted but a few months. Frederick's brief tenure as Maximilian's representative in the Hofrat between 1498 and 1499 seems to be the only time he, Maximilian, and Niclas Ziegler were ever personally involved with the same (Habsburg) chancery.

Like Berthold's 1494 ordinance, the Hofordnung prohibits bribery and requires each Council member to keep all Council secrets "till death" ("bis in seinen tod"). The Hofordnung also includes an

exhaustive description of the Ratstruhe, a great chest containing many smaller chests or drawers ("kestlin"), in which all the valuables of the Council, from the Imperial seals and the petitions of supplicants, to writing materials and the tablecloth, were stored.²⁰² Of these provisions only those concerning access to the seals are of particular interest. The eleventh kestel²⁰³ was to contain both the seal (the Majestätssiegel) and the secreth.²⁰⁴ It was to have a lock to which the Chancellor or the Senior Secretary had the key. The great chest itself was to have four different locks. Frederick of Saxony as Maximilian's representative, the Hofmeister, the Hofmarschall, and the Chancellor or Senior Secretary each had a key to one of the locks. Theoretically all four would have to have been present to get the seals out of the chest at any given time. Jančar interprets this cumbersome, multi-lock arrangement to have been a deliberate if vain attempt by Maximilian to keep Berthold and his Imperial Chancery at Court.²⁰⁵

Beyond this the provisions of the Ordinance are much like those of the 1494 Reichskanzleiordnung with regard to the preparation, correction, and registration of documents, and concerning the conduct of Council personnel. A minor difference in the procedure is that the Hofordnung calls for one additional control not required in the Reichskanzlei: fair copies were to be rechecked against the register entries that had been penned from expedited drafts.²⁰⁶ The duties of the Council secretaries are of interest because some were assigned specifically to Niclas Ziegler. Of the two secretaries mentioned above, Ziegler was the one who read the statements in the Council sessions. As in the Imperial Chancery, it was the Senior Secretary—not Ziegler or Wurm—who checked to see whether recommendations were written in the style of the chancery, and it was he who approved them before they were engrossed. The two Council secretaries (again as in the Reichskanzlei) were authorized to correct scribal errors in the fair copy. Ziegler and Wurm were to have the key to a chest with many drawers (apparently not the Ratstruhe) in which they were to store all the legal acts and orders they worked on. Aside from them,

only the Chancellor and Senior Secretary were to have keys to the chest. Ziegler and Wurm were also responsible for sealing any documents in the Council that required a seal. They were specifically instructed to give priority to matters concerning the Empire and the Erblande. From this we can conclude that by 1498 Ziegler had achieved a position of sufficient trust on Maximilian's staff to be given access to the Chancery seals. This places him high in the middle stratum of chancery employees, only two ranks below the Hofkanzler himself. Nevertheless, there is nothing in the Hofordnung to suggest that Ziegler was a language reformer.

The Reichskanzleiordnung

Wir Maximilian von gottes gnaden römischer künig zu allen zeiten merer des reichs . . . etc. bekennen öffentlich mit disen brieve und thun kund allermeniglich: als bisher in unsren canzleien beide römisch und auch österreichisch hendel und sachen under einander vermischt und ausgegangen und deshalb die sachen als die nottuft erhaischt, nit registriert und eingeschrieben sein, dardurch (wo nit darein gesehen) uns, dem heiligen reich und unsren erblichen landen merklich irrung schade und nachteil erwachsen werde, als wir demnach aus denselben und andern ursachen mit wolbedachtem mut [. . .] ein ordenung [. . .] wie es hinfur mit unsren canzleien soll gehalten und alle sachen und hendel das hailig reich unser küniglich chamergericht und unser erbländ berurnde ausgeen und gefertigt werden, gemacht und beslossen haben, inmassen wie hernach volgt.²⁰⁷

In this ordinance Maximilian guarantees Berthold and the Reichskanzlei sole authority in the Imperial affairs over which he had given the Court Council jurisdiction just a short time before. As the introduction states, this clarification of administrative procedures was intended to improve the accuracy of the register, which had suffered during the period when Imperial and dynastic affairs had become confused, to the detriment of the Emperor, the Empire, and the ancestral lands. The first section of the new ordinance spells out the specific prerogatives Maximilian granted the Imperial Chancery: "no missive shall be written at our behest in our capacity as Roman King to the Holy [Roman] Empire except that it be written in our

Roman [i.e., Imperial] Chancery, which the honorable Berthold, Archbishop of Mainz, Archchancellor of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany, and our dear cousin and Elector is now administering [. . .]."²⁰⁸ There is no provision for handling incoming matters concerning the Empire, no indication that this edict supersedes the earlier Hofordnung, and no specific provision for interaction between the Chanceries.

To expedite this new separation of responsibilities, Maximilian planned to give Berthold the exclusive use of two seals: the great seal ("unser gross sigl"), which Hofkanzler Stürzel had refused to surrender in 1495, and a new mississigl the Emperor intended to have made especially for the purpose. These Imperial seals ("reichssigel") were to be kept in the great Ratstruhe, in the drawer next to the one reserved for the other two seals and the secreth (the seals that the Hofordnung had assigned to the Hofrat). Two of the Hofrat seals, the secreth and one of the others, were to be used exclusively for matters pertaining to Austria and Burgundy. The Archbishop alone was to have a key to the drawer containing the Imperial seals; the four locks to the chest itself, however, were to remain unchanged.²⁰⁹ Thus the Archchancellor, the Hofrat, and the Ratstruhe all had to be in one place for an Imperial document to be sealed; or procedures different from those outlined were used in the execution of official chancery documents. In practice the prescribed procedures were sometimes disregarded. The fact that Maximilian had to send for Berthold's seals in 1502 confirms that the secure design of the Ratstruhe was not sufficiently compelling to keep either the two chanceries or their seals together in one place.

The Instruktion für die Hofkanzlei

The last of the 1498 ordinances that may have particular bearing on the development of the Habsburg chancery language is Maximilian's fragmentary Instruktion für die Hofkanzlei. This document is thought to have been drafted in conjunction with the Reichskanzleiordnung just discussed.²¹⁰ It treats the interaction between the

Hofkanzlei and the Hofrat and the cooperation of the Hofkanzlei with the Ländergruppenkanzleien in specific cases. The first section deals with the duties of the Hofkanzler. In many ways they are reminiscent of duties Berthold outlined for his undercantzler in the Reichskanzleiordnung of 1494. The Hofkanzler was to make sure that the fees charged for Chancery services were standard and that no business was delayed by obstructive copyists angling for higher fees. He was to see that a register was maintained of all documents under seal leaving the Chancery. The Chancellor also had proofreading responsibilities:

Item alle brief gescheft und verschreibungen umb clain
und groß sachen sol der canzler selbst von wort zu
wort mit vleis überlesen und alsdann mit aigner hand
underschreiben und solbs ^{hilf} kainen secretarien bevelen
noch zu tun gestatten.

If one compares this statement with the passage from the more detailed 1494 Reichskanzleiordnung, which specifies the portions of fair copies that may be corrected without their being recopied, the implication of this passage becomes clear. The Hofkanzler is to read for accuracy and correctness of content because the documents proceeding from the Chancery are legally binding. There is no indication that he was also to check for orthographic conformity or that this was a contemporary chancery concern.

Beyond these internal matters the Hofkanzler was also to coordinate the activities of his office with those of the Council and the regional chanceries. The Chancellor was to bring all Chancery business requiring a written response to the Council, read it aloud, and with his own hand write on the petitions the recommendations of the Council. These procedures are similar to certain of those outlined in the Hofordnung. In the Instruktion, the Hofkanzlei emerges as the administrative and clerical staff of the Hofrat and the Emperor himself. It also functioned as a clearinghouse for matters concerning the Regiments that administered the Habsburg ancestral territories. Either by direct royal order or at the recommendation of the Council, the Hofkanzler was to forward matters pertaining to

the government or organization of the Erblande to the governors (Stathalter) and regents of Lower Austria, Upper Austria, High Austria, and Burgundy.²¹²

The duties of the Hofkanzlei secretaries do not differ significantly from those outlined for the same positions in the Reichs-kanzleiordnung of 1494. These officials were to obey the Chancellor and keep His Majesty's secrets until death. They were not to present fair copies for sealing and dispatch that had not been proofread. They were not to engross materials that had not been approved by the Chancellor. Neither were they to undertake any private commissions; they were forbidden to accept bribes or gifts. As in the case of Reichskanzlei personnel, they were not to approach the Court without the explicit consent of the Chancellor.²¹³

THE AUTHENTICATION OF DOCUMENTS IN THE CHANCERY OF MAXIMILIAN I

The chancery ordinances of 1494 and 1498 indicate that each document originating in the Court and Imperial Chanceries during Maximilian's reign was to be controlled and counterchecked several times by more than one person before it was issued.²¹⁴ Though certain aspects of the ordinances were not implemented as written, the surviving manuscripts from the Chanceries indicate that the rules governing the control and endorsement of official documents were generally observed. Where an official chancery document reflects deviation from the normal routine, the irregularity is more often the result of an external circumstance than of a casual attitude within the chancery toward the prescribed system of controls. A frequent variation in the standard pattern of checks is the issuance of an official document under some seal other than the one required in the ordinances because the correct seal was unavailable for either political or logistical reasons. Documents also sometimes lack the requisite number of signatures; some are issued with no visa at all. Aside from these sorts of irregularity, however, the chancery documents were normally checked as rough drafts, checked against the

register, proofread in the fair copy, and in the Hofkanzlei checked against the register a second time. These controls are recorded on the documents with enough regularity so that one is usually able to tell from the endorsements and other chancery notation exactly which phase of the production process an individual manuscript represents (draft, revised draft, fair copy, etc.).

Ordinarily questions regarding chancery notation fall in the realm of diplomatics, where chancery endorsements, seals, and the like are considered to be indications of a document's genuineness or authenticity from a legal standpoint. In this context they imply that the texts on which they appear are sufficiently accurate in content and correct in style to be considered legally binding documents. Because historians of the German language suggest that the Habsburg chancery dialect was consciously standardized, however, and because they relate their claims to the Emperor's seal and to documents issuing directly from the Emperor, it is necessary to examine briefly the forms of endorsement used in Maximilian's chancery, determine what sort of check each endorsement represented, and establish whether any of them implied the personal participation of Maximilian in the execution of a given document. A cursory survey of these endorsements will also permit us to interpret more accurately the significance of individual documents considered in chapter 3. Having already traced the basic route of a document through a chancery in examining the ordinances above, we will only be concerned here with the commissioning, signing, and sealing of documents.

Commissions

Fair copies from Maximilian's chancery normally show a notation at the upper right corner of the plica that tells who commissioned the text or under what circumstances it was assigned to the chancery. These chancery notations serve primarily to indicate whether the matter treated in the text pertains to the Empire or to the House of Habsburg. Beginning early in the reign of Frederick III, two such formulae were developed to distinguish the two realms of

chancery business. Although Frederick's two chancery staffs worked together closely, they used the notation "commissio domini regis (imperatoris)" on documents under the jurisdiction of the Austrian Chancery, and the notation "ad mandatum domini regis" on Reichskanzlei documents.²¹⁵ During the period between 1491 and 1492 the ad mandatum formula was also used on documents pertaining to the Erblände. Early in Maximilian's reign, however, the former usage was reestablished; the commissio formula was again reserved for House matters and the ad mandatum formula for Imperial ones.²¹⁶

The Instruktion für die Hofkanzlei (1498) explains how these notations were to be extended to indicate the circumstances under which the Chancery was charged to draft a text. The addition of the phrase "in consilio" to either of the preceding formulae meant that the text represented a decision of the Hofrat. The addition of the phrase "regis propria per dominum n.," a form rarely occurring in the documents from Maximilian's reign,²¹⁷ indicated that the King's command to have the document executed was communicated to the person whose name appears in the formula (that is, "n.").²¹⁸

From the standpoint of our investigation, documents bearing any of these notations may be of interest. Since the Hofkanzlei produced documents concerning Imperial matters throughout Maximilian's reign, the ad mandatum formula does not necessarily mean the text was produced under Berthold's direction. By the same token Maximilian's commissioning of a text does not mean that he was personally involved with its execution beyond that point. Not all the commissio regis propria documents are signed by Maximilian or sealed with his seal. In fact the Hofordnung of 1498 states explicitly in the passage quoted above that Maximilian only wished to be consulted by the Council in "great and difficult" matters. The commissioning notations, then, are not sufficient grounds to assume that the Emperor himself endorsed the manuscripts on which they appear.

Signatures

By the reign of Frederick III, handwritten signatures, initials, visas, and other formalized handwritten phrases of endorsement were frequently used by the monarch and by chancery personnel in place of or in addition to seals in validating documents. Registered fair copies from Maximilian's chanceries may show as many as three different handwritten visas in addition to the commissioning notation discussed above. Some documents, however, particularly those issued under hanging seals, were executed without any written endorsement at all.²¹⁹

When written visas occur on documents from Maximilian's chanceries, they are usually of two types. If a document was approved personally by the Chancellor or his agent (usually one of the Senior Secretaries), that individual wrote his full formal signature (see below) beneath the commissioning notation in the lower right corner of the plica.²²⁰ Below his name he typically wrote "m p" or "p m p" ("manu propria" or "per manum propriam"), indicating that the endorsement was by his own hand and that the document was an original rather than a simultaneous copy prepared for record. This single signature may be the only handwritten signature on a chancery document. If so, it represents both a final proofreading check and an endorsement of content. Many of the documents from Maximilian's chanceries show a second form of visa. It is a notation at the upper left corner of the plica that represents the countersignature of the monarch or his agent. When the notation occurs in conjunction with a secretary's visa at the lower right, the secretary's signature is essentially a proofreading acknowledgment and the monarch's visa is the authorization of content.²²¹ This second endorsement is the formula "p reg p s," that is, "per regem pro se";²²² it usually occurs on Urkunden showing the Proprialvermerk, "commissio regis propria," and appears much more frequently as an endorsement than any of the forms of Maximilian's signature or initials. Despite the literal meaning of the phrase, however, and the fact that it appears on documents the

Emperor himself commissioned, the presence of the visa does not mean that Maximilian personally endorsed the fair copies on which it appears. Burkhard Seuffert notes that the regional chanceries were not only given the right to seal documents in Maximilian's stead, but that they were also permitted to use the per regem formulae after the new Hofordnung came into effect in 1498. He cites examples in which Frederick the Wise and Hans von Landau sign "Per Regem Fridericus Saxonie D. Elector" and "Per Regem H. v. landaw," respectively. More significantly, however, he mentions that Paul von Liechtenstain was actually authorized to sign "per regem per se" for the Emperor.²²³ This means that even the documents that indicate they have been approved by Maximilian himself (se) may not have been.

Some chancery documents show Maximilian's handwritten initials or signature in the place of this monarchical visa. On these texts, which actually passed through Maximilian's hands, his countersignature may represent the final endorsement or an agreement with other signatories mentioned in the text, or it may be the sole authorization of the document.²²⁴ Maximilian used a variety of handwritten endorsements. The so-called großes Namenshandzeichen is a calligraphic signature in which Maximilian actually spells out his name. It was reserved for extremely formal documents such as treaties²²⁵ and royal marriage contracts. Several versions of this signature are shown in Peter Anton von Franck's Von dem großen Namenshandzeichen Maximilians I.²²⁶ On less ceremonial occasions, Maximilian sometimes wrote only his initial and a highly abbreviated form of his royal title: "M. R. Kunig."²²⁷ Maximilian also had an Imperial monogram that he rarely used, although the use of monograms had been popular through the reign of Sigismund and had continued during Frederick's reign.²²⁸

The matter of determining which documents Maximilian approved personally is complicated further by the fact that he had three silver stamps made of his Handzeichen in 1507 by Benedikt Burkhart in Hall.²²⁹ He announced to the Stände in July of the same year that he had had a stamp made of his Imperial signature and that he intended for it to be used by trusted individuals in executing royal documents.

Seuffert mentions references from 1510 and 1511 that indicate this signature stamp, the Katschet, was actually lent to Konrad Peutinger and Hans Paumgartner; in 1511 it was also lent to Serntein.²³⁰ In addition to the Katschet Seuffert lists six other stamps. They are not stamps of Maximilian's initials or signature, but of standard diplomatic validation formulae. Three of these have the text "per regem per," two the text "per Cesarem," and one the text "ꝑ per Cesarem."²³¹ The final word of each formula was written in by hand on the documents. Seuffert notes that Serntein and Ziegler had similar stamps, but he does not describe them.²³²

The pattern one observes in Maximilian's own endorsements, if more elaborate than some, appears to have been typical of the chancery practices of his day. Many of the Habsburg chancery officials used at least two totally different signatures—one quite plain, and one or more highly calligraphic—in validating chancery documents. The type of signature used depended on the kind of document and its function on the document.²³³ The calligraphic signatures appear on fair copies, particularly on those where they endorse a text penned by another writer. They are often, but not always, used on documents for the public record²³⁴ and on those requiring the countersignature of the Emperor. The unembellished signatures usually appear on chancery drafts, reports written from chancery members on assignment, and documents intended only for circulation within the chancery.

Seals

When the sealing of diplomatic documents is mentioned in discussions of the Habsburg chancery language, some scholars imply that there was but a single seal used in executing official chancery communications. The Court and Chancery Ordinances of 1494 and 1498 expand this number somewhat, but they still suggest a highly centralized and closely controlled system for authenticating documents in the Habsburg chanceries. In his essay on Maximilian's seals and their historical significance, however, Franz-Heinz Hye has identified fifty-two separate seals of various sizes and descriptions,

which were used on Habsburg diplomatic documents between 1486 and 1519.²³⁵ Of these, more than a dozen were Court seals and the Emperor's personal seals. This group included two ring seals and a number of secreth seals.²³⁶ Several were used only on documents that bore the Emperor's own signature or that showed chancery notations indicating the text had been written at the direct command of Maximilian.

Most of the separate Habsburg administrative authorities, such as the Hofregiment, the Hofkammer, and the Kriegskammer, had separate seals. The main Imperial seal was Maximilian's great royal seal, over which the controversy between Stürtzel and Berthold von Mainz developed. With the end of the Reichskanzlei in 1502, this seal reverted to the Hofkanzlei. The seals used by the various Habsburg agencies were not always their own. The großes secreth that Matthäus Lang used in the Hofkanzlei, for example, was turned over unaltered for use in the Hofkammer. Similarly the Lehenssiegel from the Landgraviate of Nellenburg became a Court seal that was used on documents signed by Ziegler, Serntein, and Maximilian himself. Generally speaking, Court seals were used on documents with which Maximilian was closely involved, whereas the seals of the regional authorities were used quite independently of the Emperor.²³⁷

Even with the great number of official seals in use during Maximilian's reign, many Habsburg diplomatic documents went out under personal seals (which were often signets or petschaften), under formal and informal signatures, and under borrowed seals. Hye's research shows, particularly in the case of the Court, that certain seals were often reserved for use on documents showing specific chancery notations. Documents bearing Maximilian's signature or the notation that he himself had commissioned the text (the Propriavermerk), for example, usually show seals different from those used on texts that were otherwise commissioned and endorsed in the Chancery. Members of the Hofkanzlei traveling on official missions were frequently obliged to borrow seals that were not official Habsburg seals in order to conduct the Emperor's business,²³⁸ and sometimes the lack

of a seal caused considerable inconvenience. In a letter to Cyprian Serntein, for example, Niclas Ziegler complains bitterly that he has been denied the use of the Chancery seal and for this reason put in the embarrassing position of having to refer official business to others:

Wo Ich dz sigl gehept. het Ich etwas mugen fertigen.
 Also hab Ich es andern leuten müessen Zu schickhen
 das ist mir spätlich. auch lenger vnleidlich [. . .]
 darzu auch Ewr nachteil. Ewre zwen schreiben haben
 mir Zu fryburg nichts hellffen wellen/ Wo Ir ein
vertrawen In mich setzen. als mit dem sigl. der Kunig.
 vnd hertzog fridrich getan haben/ welt Ich mich der
 massen gegen Euch halten/ dz Ir darab ein gefallen
 hetten/²³⁹

The custody of chancery seals was both an administrative and a political matter, since documents bearing official seals were considered genuine whether or not they showed other forms of endorsement.²⁴⁰ Ziegler's statement above indicates that he has been unable to conduct chancery affairs without the seal in Freiburg even on the strength of Serntein's official letters of introduction. That Serntein sent Ziegler on this assignment without the Chancery seal was surely not an oversight. He apparently did not altogether trust his subordinate, and possession of the seal would have given Ziegler more authority than Serntein intended him to have. This episode points up both the competitive political climate of Maximilian's Hofkanzlei and the significance of seals as a means of authenticating official documents.

Summary

The authentication of documents executed in Maximilian's chanceries guaranteed the scribal accuracy of the fair copy. The provisions of the chancery ordinances of 1494 and 1498 suggest that this was the main objective of the series of controls prescribed. The "chancery style" was a matter of diction. The impetus for producing documents in consistent formulaic style was to make them legally unimpeachable. Neither the chancery ordinances nor the authenticated documents produced in accordance with them indicate that the internal chancery checks were for compliance with any orthographic standard.

The chancery endorsements often make it possible to trace the route of a given text through the chancery from commission to issuance—to tell how it was assigned, who proofread it, and who approved its execution. In some cases the proofreader and the authorizer can both be established, in some cases neither is identifiable, sometimes they are one and the same. Practically speaking, the different forms of endorsement are not of equal significance. Chancery seals and Maximilian's handwritten visas outweighed the signatures of the Chancellor and Senior Secretaries. The presence of either of the former obviated the need for the latter.

The internal controls that actually prevailed in the Habsburg administrative network during the reign of Maximilian I permitted many more agencies and individuals to issue official chancery documents than the offhand references from the histories of the German language suggest. In associating the putative standardization of the Habsburg chancery language with Maximilian personally, Germanic philologists seem to have become the victims of some of the Emperor's own propaganda. In his self-aggrandizing autobiography, Der Weißkunig, Maximilian claims that not a single missive left the chancery without his personal endorsement:

Er [Maximilian] ließ auch kainen brief nit ausgeen, es was die sach klain oder groß, er überlaß zuvor denselben brief und underschrib alle brief mit seiner hand. Wie vleyssiglichen hat diser kunig regirt, dann man sölliche regirung von kainem kunig geschrieben findet! Er ist auch so ubertreffenlichen gewest mit angebung der brief und mit seiner gedachtnus, das er oftmalen newn, zehn, aintliif und zwelf secretarien zu ainer zeit, jedem secretarien ainen besonderen brief angeben hat, und die ganz regirung aller seiner kunigreich und land ist allain von ime beschehen, neben allen den grossen kriegen, die er in frembde nacion und land gefuert hat.²⁴¹

This was certainly not the case. Not everything that left the Chancery with a royal visa was signed personally by Maximilian, and much Hofkanzlei business was concluded without using Court seals. The external evidence examined to this point, including the chancery ordinances, indicates that Maximilian was primarily interested in

retaining absolute control of the Court and Imperial Chanceries and their activities. To do this he frequently intervened personally in chancery matters.²⁴² There is nothing to indicate, however, that an interest in any sort of language standardization, orthographic or otherwise, was the basis for his interference in chancery affairs. The chancery production was carefully controlled, but the controls, as we have seen, were not of the sort historians of the German language have assumed.

It is remotely possible, however, that Ziegler and Maximilian did develop and propagate an identifiable orthographic standard in the Hofkanzlei. If so, their own holographs and the fair copies penned by others that they endorsed should be evidence of this language. The preceding survey of validation practices shows that only those documents bearing Maximilian's handwritten visas can be said to have been approved by him personally. Similarly only fair copies bearing Ziegler's manu propria signature, as well as his own holographs, can be said to have been endorsed by Niclas Ziegler. These are the sorts of documents that would have to be examined to establish the personal orthographic practices of the Emperor and his Senior Secretary.

CHANCERY ACTIVITY UNDER MAXIMILIAN I

The organizational structure and internal procedures of the Hofkanzlei and Reichskanzlei tell only part of the story of the Habsburg chancery system at the turn of the sixteenth century; they introduce its activities without suggesting their import or indicating how closely chancery practice followed the routines prescribed. Under Maximilian the Hofkanzlei became the center for most of the Emperor's diplomatic and political activities, and chancery service continued to offer remarkable opportunities for personal advancement. Traditionally the chancery had been staffed with members of influential noble families who stood in close proximity to the Emperor, but this practice began to change in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries so that by Maximilian's time there were a number of bourgeois

members of the Hofkanzlei staff. Because of the immense power resting in the chancery in the late fifteenth century, it was the agency to which the politically and financially ambitious aspired.

A passage from the Wei^ßkunig shows how important Maximilian himself considered the chancery to be; he felt that he had to control the chancery in order to be able to govern effectively. In the brief chapter entitled "Wie der jung wey^ß kunig lernet die handlung des secretari ambts," Maximilian describes how he ("der jung wey^ß kunig") had been taught by his father ("der alt wei^ß kunig") to control the chancery. The old king has learned through experience that a monarch who does not know how to deal with his chancery staff has difficulty ruling. For this reason he decides to teach his son what is seemly for a chancellor or secretary so that the boy will learn to know the basis for government and to recognize for what they are the self-seeking individuals who serve him. The chapter reaches its climax with a brief exchange between father and son. The father asks, "Son, do you understand the principle of government through the chancery (schriftliche regirung)?" The boy answers, "Whichever king places his trust in any person [. . .] not he but that person shall reign." The father is delighted that the young prince has understood the fundamentals of kingship.²⁴³ Although the details of many of the accounts reported in the Wei^ßkunig are greatly idealized and exaggerated, the attitudes expressed in the work are usually Maximilian's own. In this passage the significance he attaches to the chancery and the caution with which he views the ambitious individuals who staff it may be taken at face value.²⁴⁴

In the chancery ambitious men bridged the gap between social obscurity and political prominence in a single generation, while accumulating sizable fortunes. The structures and supervision of the chancery were rather flexible in this period, so that dominant personalities could and did shape the course of events. Bribery and political intrigues were common, and elevated positions at Court precarious. There are numerous success stories among the chancery biographies of this time. Some men who began as secretaries in the

chancery managed, like Matthäus Lang, to ride the political wave and ended up as monied bishops and provosts. Many others, however, who came to make their fortunes at Court were broken by their service there. Hans Waldner, for example, onetime head of Frederick III's Hofkanzlei and later Austrian Chancellor under Maximilian, was dismissed from his post for misconduct and officially charged; he committed suicide.²⁴⁵ And Jakob Villinger, Maximilian's "Grand Tresorier" and "Generalschatzmeister," who spent much of his career borrowing money for the Emperor against his own assets,²⁴⁶ died ten years after his sovereign in considerably reduced circumstances.²⁴⁷

The meteoric career of Frederick III's great Chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, is a particularly dramatic example of this phenomenon. It merits a brief aside because it shows what was possible in the chanceries of the period, and what it was that the ambitious literati sought. Probably beginning as a scribe in Emperor Sigismund's service in 1415, Schlick was the son of a burgher family from the Egerland. During the next twenty years he ascended through the ranks as Notary, Protonotary, and Vice Chancellor,²⁴⁸ and eventually became Chancellor. He married a woman from a ducal family and, albeit on the basis of a forged document, himself ascended to the estate of Reichsgraf. He was the first member of the laity to hold the office of Reichskanzler, a position he occupied under several monarchs (including Sigismund, Albrecht II, and Frederick III). Needless to say, Schlick made enemies in this rise to power, not the least of whom were members of the College of Imperial Electors. After the election of Albrecht II, this body presumed to send the Emperor elect an emissary, requesting that Schlick not be named Chancellor; the petition was ignored.²⁴⁹ Schlick's case is a colorful example of a pattern that continued to be typical in the chanceries through the time of Maximilian.

During Maximilian's reign there was no Imperial diplomatic corps as such,²⁵⁰ and for this reason any person prominent in public life might be called upon to undertake a state mission of greater or lesser importance. Since this diplomatic activity required central

coordination, it too became a function of the royal Chancery. In fact this was one of the chief activities of the coterie immediately surrounding the Emperor. The rivalries that developed among the Chancery diplomats were intense and ubiquitous.²⁵¹ As the many references in the chancery ordinances imply, this infighting was not just a matter of power and prestige, but also of cold cash. The following statement, contained in a letter dated 15 January 1501 from Eysenreich to Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria, attests to such malice in the chancery and is undoubtedly quite accurate. "Wan sy sind auch nit all ainig, di an der kgl. Mt. hof sind und wo ainer den andern hindern mag, ob gleich das Ew. G. oder yemant anderß berurt, so geschicht solichs."²⁵²

In some cases Maximilian furnished his diplomats and others in his service with clerical and secular titles that established them socially.²⁵³ As Jančar notes the titles "Sekretär" and "Rath" ("consiliarius") were frequently dispensed in this way; the fact that more secretaries are listed in the chancery registers than can actually be accounted for in the chanceries indicates that some of these diplomats never served regularly in the Hofkanzlei at all.²⁵⁴ Other secretaries like Niclas Ziegler, however, held responsible positions in the Chancery and were often used for diplomatic missions as well (see "Marx Treytsaurwein" and "Niclas Ziegler," chapter 3). In intercourse with foreign powers Maximilian often used what Heinz Gollwitzer has called "neighborhood diplomats" ("Nachbarschaftsdiplomaten"), that is, he enfeoffed his retainers with territories bordering on the areas where he wished them to act on his behalf.²⁵⁵ The financing of Maximilian's diplomatic missions, like that of so many of his other undertakings, was precarious. Since his emissaries could never be altogether certain that they would be reimbursed for expenses incurred on his behalf, their leaving Court to undertake long and expensive missions carried with it a double risk: first, the diplomat might be ruined financially; second, he might become the victim of a political intrigue while abroad.²⁵⁶ Apart from these considerations, the opportunities for income were usually greater in the Chancery itself.

As the chancery ordinances of 1498 imply, the actual channels through which Maximilian's affairs of state had flowed to that point were not necessarily those prescribed by the regulations. Nor did this change greatly after 1498. Generally speaking, matters of greatest significance were handled by Maximilian himself, the circle of close advisors who accompanied him on his travels, and by his Chancery at Innsbruck. The Hofordnung of 1498 gave formal status to the ad hoc group of counsellors who advised Maximilian, and the makeup of this council remained relatively constant. After the death of his father in 1493, Maximilian combined the Tyrolean and Court Chanceries, and the Chancellor in Innsbruck became known as the "Tirolischer und Hofkanzler."²⁵⁷ A branch of the standing chancery at Innsbruck accompanied Maximilian on his travels. Exactly who comprised this group at any given time is difficult to say. To some extent this can be determined by seeing which secretaries approved or drafted documents on the dates and in the places corresponding to those on Maximilian's own itinerary.²⁵⁸ The endorsements on individual Urkunden establish which of the senior members of the Chancery accompanied Maximilian at any given time. Only in exceptional cases is it possible to determine by other means what additional personnel may have been in attendance. The production of the itinerant chancery is of particular interest in considering the handbook claims about the Habsburg chancery language because of all the staffs of all the Habsburg chanceries, this is the one with which Maximilian was most closely associated.

It appears that Maximilian's peripatetic administrative staff included members of the Hofrat as well as the Chancery. The advisors who were not traveling with the Emperor or on assignment, however, were based at Innsbruck. On 27 March 1503, for example, Maximilian wrote to his "Hofräte sammt und sonderlich" in Innsbruck,²⁵⁹ so one may assume that at least part of the Hofrat was functioning in Innsbruck along with the rest of the Chancery at the time. Sigmund Adler asserts, however, that although instructions for the Council were sent almost without exception to Innsbruck, one should not think of

a constant, permanently based Council membership. He says that "it is impossible to speak of a regular seat of the Hofrat, although one must assume on the other hand that the members were appointed permanently and not just for specific cases."²⁶⁰ The description of the Hofrat might as easily be applied to the itinerant branch of the Hofkanzlei to which it contributed.

THE TRAINING OF CHANCERY PERSONNEL

In discussing the relatively standardized language of the Habsburg chancery and the supposed orthographic reform of Niclas Ziegler, historians of the German language overlook the education of chancery scribes. To some extent this is justified, because the majority of those who actually penned Habsburg chancery documents remain anonymous and are known to us only by their scribal hands. The scribes whose lives and training can be accounted for were diplomats and leaders in the chancery and thus belong to the upper-middle or highest tier of the chancery hierarchy. Their education is typical of their own chancery stratum but probably not of the staff as a whole. Although it is impossible to speak of the training received by individual lesser members of Maximilian's scribal staff, it is important to consider briefly the educational avenues that may have led them to the chancery and the circumstances of their learning to write administrative German. The handbook accounts suggest that the Habsburg documents from Maximilian's reign reflect the deliberate attempt of his staff to regularize the written language. What little we know about the lives of the scribes, however, indicates that many of those who set the tone in the chancery acquired their training elsewhere and joined Maximilian's service already knowing how to write cancelleysch. This is probably true of the lesser scribes as well, since there is very little evidence to suggest that the training of copyists was a major activity within Maximilian's chancery system. Thus the ways scribes learned to write may have contributed more to the complexion of the Habsburg dialect than did the atmosphere and regulations of the chancery itself.

The most sophisticated traditional education available in Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century was provided by the universities. Members of the emerging class of administrators, who served both the nobility and the cities, studied at one or more of these institutions,²⁶¹ this was true of Maximilian's staff as well. Matthäus Lang, Conrad Stürtzel, and Cyprian Serntein were among those members of the Chancery who had attended universities. University training was the exception, not the rule, for the Chancery staff as a whole, however, and it probably had little impact on the orthographic features of the Habsburg chancery language under investigation. Those who could already write attended universities for the advanced tuition they could not receive from local schoolmasters. The basic writing habits of students, however, were firmly established before they ever reached the universities. Thus tutors and lower schools probably played a greater role in shaping the language that all three levels of Maximilian's scribal staff wrote in chancery documents than has generally been acknowledged.

Late medieval German schools were of two kinds: the first was scholarly in its orientation and prepared students for the university, the clergy, or both; the second was more pragmatic and prepared students for business. Church schools and city Latin schools comprised the first group.²⁶² Synodal decrees from the eighth century onward required the establishment of schools in conjunction with cathedrals and churches,²⁶³ and until the thirteenth century the teaching of reading and writing was exclusively the domain of the Church. Scribes trained in the Church schools staffed both clerical and noble chanceries.²⁶⁴ By the end of the thirteenth century, the need for literacy in commerce had increased to the point where the Church schools could no longer meet the need for instruction.²⁶⁵ As a result two kinds of secular schools developed in the cities: the Latin or Trivialschulen and the more commercially oriented "kleine Schulen" or "parvae scholae." Latin schools taught grammar, logic, and rhetoric—the basics of the liberal education—and, depending on the quality and reputation of the instructor, sometimes attracted

itinerant students. The "kleine Schulen," which included the Deutschschulen ("duesche Schriftscholen") and the schools of Rechenmeister and Stuhlschreiber ("scribae cathedrales"), emphasized the fundamentals of reading and writing as well as basic mathematics.²⁶⁶ The children of craftsmen and merchants attended these "little schools," whereas the children of prominent bourgeois families were often tutored privately.²⁶⁷

In cities private instruction was the alternative to the schools; elsewhere private writing masters were the only teachers available. The scribal profession in Germany in the late Middle Ages was loosely organized but nevertheless showed definite stratification. Larger cities, including Vienna, had guilds of penmen who supervised the training of scribes.²⁶⁸ Recently Herrad Spilling has divided the scribes of the day into two categories: writing masters and other members of the scribal fraternity.²⁶⁹ Members of both groups served as private tutors.

The term "writing master" ("Schreibmeister") as it occurs in modern scholarship may refer to either or both of two groups of professional penmen. In broad terms the Schreibmeister were independent penmen who made their living by writing, employed neither by towns nor noblemen as notaries or scribes. In the more restricted sense "Schreibmeister" refers to the great calligraphic artists ("Schreibkünstler"), like Johann Neudörffer, Leonhard Wagner, and Wolfgang Fugger, who were active in the first decades after the invention of printing.²⁷⁰ In addition to teaching calligraphy, written style, and other subjects such as mathematics, these latter penmen designed completely new alphabets for copyists and typographers. Schreibmeister of both kinds were also known as "Modisten" because they instructed students in various modes of writing, that is, they taught students different scripts and styles of writing, and taught them which ones should be used for which specific purposes. In the fifteenth century the German term "Modist" was also sometimes used to mean a teacher for children or of elementary subjects;²⁷¹ in this usage "Modist" is synonymous with the unrestricted meaning of "Schreibmeister." The

Schreibmeister and Schreibkünstler were the best trained and most capable of the independent penmen. Some are known to have had an academic education including Latin and other foreign languages.²⁷² The range of their professional competence was greater than that of the second group of private writing teachers.

The other category of professional penmen includes independent schoolmasters, public scribes or notaries, and copyists of liturgical texts.²⁷³ The schoolmasters (or schoolmistresses)²⁷⁴ taught male and female adults and children the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Students were usually taught to write only after they had learned to read.²⁷⁵ Schoolmasters (Schulmeister) taught their students how to compose and pen letters and Urkunden.²⁷⁶ The instructional activity of schoolmasters and writing masters was similar; they both provided elementary education. In the period before the towns began hiring teachers regularly, many members of both groups were itinerant. The public scribes, whose own skills were often limited, made their living writing letters and Urkunden for the illiterate and those with meager writing skills. Unlike the writing masters who wrote in many styles, public scribes like Benedictus Schwerczer of Passau (who called himself a modist) could often only write the dominant chancery script of the day.²⁷⁷ Very little information has survived about the liturgical copyists. The advertisement of a single liturgical penman has been traced to fourteenth-century England. From this one may posit that such specialists must also have existed in late fifteenth-century Germany and would have been yet another possible source of instruction in writing; but since the existing evidence itself has little to do with Germany in the period under consideration and proclaims copying rather than teaching skills, we will overlook these members of the scribal profession.

A few surviving advertisements and manuals written by the Schreibmeister themselves provide most of what is known about how writing was taught in Europe in the late Middle Ages.²⁷⁸ What they suggest about teaching in Germany is summarized above, but a few specific features of these documents that pertain to our investigation

of the Habsburg chancery language require further consideration.

Typically the German writing masters offered samples of both book and chancery scripts on their advertising placards. The chancery scripts were written as mock legal documents ranging from private letters to royal decrees and Urkunden relating to international matters.²⁷⁹ The Passau penman Benedictus Schwerczer, who worked primarily as a copyist of official documents, actually used a fictive letter to Frederick III on his advertising poster.²⁸⁰ Other contemporary German teachers also drew particular attention to their ability to teach chancery skills. Their claims go beyond instruction in the scripts. In 1447 Hermann Strepel, a Westphalian teacher, associates writing with learning in general and mentions that learning has bearing on the literary diction of the Bible and of canon and civil law; he offers to teach those who wish to learn to write well the secrets of learning's sweetness "that they may become good scribes in a short time."²⁸¹ Johannes Brune, who worked as a teacher in Erfurt between 1493 and 1510, offers to teach students chancery script ("cancelleysch") as well as the rules of orthography and other skills.²⁸²

It has been suggested that the writing masters kept their methods of instruction secret,²⁸³ but this is not altogether true. The surviving advertising placards and handbooks themselves offer some information about their techniques. The advertisements show various scripts used in the kinds of texts for which they were deemed appropriate: chancery scripts for Urkunden, bastarda and textualis scripts for psalm verses or other liturgical texts.²⁸⁴ Similarly Neudörffer's celebrated calligraphic handbook, Ein gute Ordnung vnd Kurtze vnterricht [. . .] (1538),²⁸⁵ presents a splendid collection of alphabets used in the sorts of texts for which Neudörffer considers them suitable. He names the different styles, shows the stroking order for the individual characters, and writes passages in these distinctive scripts, demonstrating how they should be used. Many of his sample texts are mock official letters similar to the handwritten examples used by earlier penmen on their advertisements. Significantly one of Neudörffer's samples, an official letter from a subject to his lord,

is labeled "Ein schriftlein zum Copirn" (fol. 65). This indicates that students learned to write not only by carefully reproducing series of individual characters and combinations of characters, but also by copying entire sample texts. Erich Straßner confirms that this was the pattern used by the schoolmasters of Nuremberg in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: students first learned to form individual characters; then they learned chancery conventions through copy exercises.²⁸⁶ The advertising placards also suggest something about how students were taught to read. A Swabian schoolmaster from the fifteenth century explains his method on his poster as an inducement to prospective students. He promises to spare students the old-fashioned techniques by which they were taught to read—first pronouncing the names of individual letters and then drilling words syllable by syllable. Instead he proposes to teach them acrophonically, using pictorial images to suggest the familiar sounds students associated with them.²⁸⁷

Chancery scripts and simulated chancery texts figure prominently in the advertisements and instructional materials of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German teachers of writing.²⁸⁸ Thus almost any novice penman during the period would have learned to write at least one chancery script. Since students practiced by copying whole texts in the chancery style, they would have become familiar with the format and tone of various kinds of chancery communication, much as beginning secretarial students today learn the basic form and diction of business letters from the exercises in their typing textbooks, whether or not they ever receive specific instruction in letter writing. The advertisements of the writing masters indicate that at least some of these teachers taught composition actively. This means that even moderately dexterous scribal students of the period should have been able to compose documents in correct chancery script and according to contemporary conventions of diction. Thus a scribe could easily have joined Maximilian's staff with a command of one or more chancery scripts and a working knowledge of the standard forms of contemporary administrative communication. He could have acquired these skills in

any of the schools discussed and would have gained them from any of the private teachers except perhaps the liturgical copyists.

Some of Maximilian's chancery scribes seem to have received their training in his service. The references to this on-the-job tuition are scanty and somewhat oblique, however. In the Reichskanzleiordnung of 1494, younger scribes are instructed to consult their elders in matters of chancery style, and the senior scribes are enjoined to teach them well. Maximilian himself, in the chapter of his Weißenkunig cited in "Chancery Activity under Maximilian I" above, claims to have employed quite a number of secretaries whom he had raised from their youth according to his wishes.²⁸⁹ Marx Treytzsaurwein (see chapter 3) was one of these scribes who grew up in the Emperor's service. In a letter introducing him to Charles V, Maximilian tells his grandson that Treytzsaurwein has served him "since he was a youth" ("von Jugend auf").²⁹⁰ An examination of his chancery production compared with that of scribes in Maximilian's service known to have been trained elsewhere allows one to see whether the Habsburg chancery preparation is easily distinguishable.

The scribal training provided in Maximilian's chanceries would have differed somewhat from the instruction afforded by city schools and private tutors. Apprentice scribes in the chancery system would have been exposed to accomplished penmen representing a variety of scribal and academic backgrounds from several geographic regions. Young scribes in the chancery engrossed drafts written by their superiors, worked with Empfängerkonzepte written by outside petitioners, and helped maintain the registers. Thus they regularly copied a greater variety of texts than the students of a local schoolmaster would probably have encountered. In addition to their highly skilled and widely diversified senior colleagues in the chancery, young scribes also had the registers and the bound codices of chancery drafts²⁹¹ to consult as they learned their craft.

The preceding survey of educational institutions in late medieval Germany indicates there were a number of ways Maximilian's scribes could have become proficient in writing chancery German before

they entered his service. This is true for scribes of all ranks in the chancery, for even the least sophisticated contemporary German schools and tutors taught students the forms and scripts of the chancery as survival skills in literacy. Thus one may assume that all Maximilian's scribes had been taught cancelleysch, most of them before they entered his service, even though most of their biographies remain unknown. The circumstances of this tuition probably caused the chancery German written in various geographic areas gradually to lose some of its most pronounced dialectal features. The teachers doubtless taught the same chancery German wherever they went, and students would have learned to write as they were taught whether or not the orthography they learned reflected the phonology of their own local dialects.

The scribes who learned to write in Maximilian's own chancery would also have been exposed to a number of linguistically homogenizing influences. They were instructed by professional scribes who had received their training in different places and in different kinds of schools; they had to copy texts prepared by these various members of the chancery; they also engrossed Empfängerkonzepte submitted more or less in chancery style from all over the Empire. Historians of the German language draw attention to the relatively uniform variety of chancery German written by Maximilian's scribes and assume that it is the result of a particular, self-conscious linguistic effort in the Imperial chanceries. The scribes' initial writing instruction, however, could in itself entirely account for this phenomenon. At least some of the contemporary writing masters (Johannes Brune, for example), like the grammarians of the first half of the sixteenth century, were specifically concerned with the rules of orthography. This means that the students of such instructors probably did to some extent regularize the spelling of the diverse texts they engrossed. The effect of this training would have been the gradual development of somewhat supradialectal forms of chancery German. One of these is described by Luther in the well-known Tischrede discussed in chapter 1.

SUMMARY

The preceding survey of the Habsburg chancery system during Maximilian's reign indicates that despite the Emperor's interest in administrative reform, his main chancery, the Hofkanzlei, continued to function in the traditional medieval manner. It was a single centralized clerical staff answerable directly to him. At some times during this period it was combined with the Imperial Chancery, at others it simply usurped a large measure of the latter's authority. Because of the contention between the Archbishop of Mainz and the Emperor over the administration of the Imperial Chancery during the late Middle Ages, the use of the term "kaiserliche Kanzlei" to mean the chancery with which Maximilian was most closely connected is somewhat misleading. Maximilian's own chancery, throughout his reign, was the Court Chancery, particularly that portion of it which accompanied him on his travels. If he supervised or influenced the German written in his chancery system, it would have been the German written by this group.

The handbooks suggest that Maximilian was personally involved with the production of his chanceries and that he instituted reforms within them. The complaints of his chancery personnel, ²⁹² the Weißenkunig text, and the woodcuts Maximilian commissioned for the Weißenkunig that portray him dictating to his scribes and artists ²⁹³ leave little doubt that the Emperor was personally engaged in the activities of his chanceries. His interest in these matters seems to have been sporadic, however. It is yet another example of his inability to delegate authority consistently and of his pronounced desire always to be at the helm of his own projects. There is no evidence to suggest that Maximilian's intervention in chancery affairs had anything to do with language standardization. Maximilian's reforms in the chancery system affected the external configuration of these administrative offices. Except for the introduction of his signature stamps (which were rarely used), however, the internal procedures for executing documents

remained much as they had been under Frederick III and were rather typical of the late medieval German chancery tradition.

The administrative ordinances of 1494 and 1498 show that documents were carefully controlled within the Habsburg chanceries. Surviving evidence suggests that the controls were checks for diction and accuracy of content. The authentication procedures used in the chancery system make it impossible in many cases to determine which member of the staff approved a given document. Only those manuscripts bearing Maximilian's handwritten signature can be said to have been approved by him personally, and these represent but a small fraction of the total chancery production. Similarly, only those documents showing manu propria endorsements of individual chancery secretaries can be considered to have been approved by them personally. Seals, stamps, and other forms of validation existed in far greater numbers and were used more flexibly than the handbook accounts imply. For the most part they cannot be considered personal endorsements of a text because one does not know whose approval they represent. Where manu propria signatures do occur, one cannot be altogether certain which aspects of the documents the visas approve.

All the late medieval German educators who instructed students in the vernacular appear to have taught chancery German as a basic skill. The advertisements of the schoolmasters and writing masters emphasize the chancery scripts but also show that these teachers were interested in orthography and diction as well. In the absence of evidence that either Maximilian or his staff deliberately attempted to standardize the orthography of chancery documents, one should perhaps attribute such regularity as may be observed in the Habsburg manuscripts to scribal training outside the chanceries instead. Neither the chancery ordinances nor additional historical sources suggest that Maximilian's Hofkanzlei was a major center of scribal instruction, and it does not seem to have been characterized by a conscious interest in language regulation. The Chancery was Maximilian's own administrative staff and was concerned primarily with affairs of state. Document control within the Chancery appears to

have been motivated primarily by the desire to produce accurate legal records and charters while minimizing the possibilities of forgery and unauthorized diplomacy conducted by individual members of the Chancery.

THE CHANCERY LANGUAGE OF MAXIMILIAN I

Sixteenth-century references to Maximilian's chancery language have played a large role in the retention of this theme in the historiography of the German language. Misinterpretation of these early statements and the absence of a viable working definition of the chancery language have resulted in a certain amount of confusion about its nature and significance. Since many of the modern accounts of the Habsburg chancery language are based on a misreading of Luther's statement about it, a new characterization of the chancery language is needed to determine its role in the history of German and to assess current views of its importance. This characterization presents not only those features of the written language that are of interest for modern linguists, but also those considered significant by its contemporary advocates.

In the 1530s when Luther, Eck, and Frangk identified the chancery language of Maximilian I as an exemplary variety of written German, they were all concerned with the non-chancery applications of the UG administrative language, and they were not referring to matters of style and diction.²⁹⁴ Although each of these men was thoroughly familiar with the chancery usage of the day (all of them as a result of their educational backgrounds, Luther and Eck through their wide correspondence, and Frangk as a teacher of chancery style and conventions), their remarks about the chancery language (see chapter 1) refer to its use as a legitimate medium for literature and general

written communication. Luther speaks of the language of his own writings, Eck of the German of his Ingolstadt Bible, and Frangk of the German into which "many a noble and useful book" can be translated and so made accessible to those who do not learn the "main languages" (i.e., the classical languages).²⁹⁵ In sixteenth-century terms each of these men of letters is recommending Maximilian's chancery language "orthographically."

At this time Orthographia was a popular topic in Germany among those involved either with teaching students to read and write the vernacular or with disseminating ideas in the vernacular to a readership that ranged from the barely literate to the erudite. (Each of the three proponents of Maximilian's chancery language mentioned above was engaged in one or both of these activities.) Orthographia was not just a concern of the few early linguists whose grammars and reading manuals have survived, but, as the advertising placard of Johannes Brune indicates,²⁹⁶ it was also a subject offered by even the lesser German writing teachers around 1500. In the following statement from his Teutsche Grammatica (1534), Valentin Ickelsamer indicated which aspects of the written language were "orthographic" matters, although he declined to go into detail about errors of "orthography" because others had already treated the question sufficiently:

Souil hab ich w^öllen anzaygen von dem überfluß/ mangel
vnnd verwandlung der b^üchstaben des teütschen lesens/
damit z^ühelffen vnnd z^üdienen/ denen die nach der rechten
weis vnnd art lesen w^öllen lernen/ dann solche vnuolkom-
menhait vnsers lesens/ werden sy wol mercken vnnd em-
pfinden. Von den andern vngeschickligkaitten der Ortho-
graphien/ ja mehr Cacographien da man die wörter mit zu
wenig oder zuviel/ oder auch vnrechten b^üchstaben schreibt/
als das wörmlin/ vnd mit zwaien/ n/ vnd on vnterschaide/
den vnd denn/ in vnd inn/ Item das man den b^üchstaben/ e/
überal anhenckt/ als sieben viesch/ vnd des wüsts
vnentlich vil/ will ich nichts von schreiben/ Es habens
andere gnügsam thon/ vnd werden sich auch die teütschen
hierinn mit Reformiern lassen. Ich waß kain bessern
rath darinn z^ügeben/ dann meine obgesetzte zwö Regel/
das man in allen wörtern/ der oren rath hab/ wie es
aigentlich kling/ Vnd zum andern/ auff des worts rechte

signification oder bedeutung dencke vnd merck/ so wirdt
 man nitt vil vnnützer oder vnrechter bñchstaben setzen/
 was dann der gewonhait vnd dem gemainen brauch/ welchem
 auch die Orthographia zeytten dienet vnd weichet/ wie
 der Fabius sagt/ nachzlassen vnd zä geben wer/ würdt
 sich auch wol schicken.²⁹⁷

This is not an isolated statement; much of what Ickelsamer expresses here is typical of the German linguistic thinking of his time.²⁹⁸ It suggests that Orthographia as he and his contemporaries used the term was not simply a matter of spelling words with the correct letters according to a rigid standard usage. It implied rather the broader range of problems that are associated with representing the sounds of German in written or printed symbols. It is in this wider orthographic sense that we must look for those features of Maximilian's chancery language that contemporary literati considered to be distinctive, and for the purposes of the present investigation we must attempt to characterize the written chancery dialect in such terms.

Much of what we assume about the linguistic climate of early sixteenth-century Germany is derived from the handful of grammars, orthographies, and primers that survive from the period.²⁹⁹ Because most of these, regardless of their varying titles, are designed to teach the illiterate to read and write, the material they offer about various linguistic phenomena is presented as part of a practical course of instruction; it is therefore more applied than theoretical in nature.³⁰⁰ The specific instructions concerning spelling and pronunciation and the explanations of particularly troublesome features of the contemporary German writing systems differ from grammar to grammar, and they are frequently contradictory even within the same work. For these reasons it would be impractical to attempt to analyze the production of Maximilian's chancery in strict accordance with the linguistic theory that can be extrapolated from these texts. Nevertheless, if one looks beyond the superficial contradictions of the individual treatises to the more basic concerns of their authors, certain common attitudes and problems emerge in the texts. Considered together they show an incomplete understanding of the

relationship of the written symbol to its reference in the spoken language; they identify but do not account for umlauting; they confuse umlauting and diphthongization. These texts probably reflect the same sort of linguistic attitudes that caused Luther, Eck, and Frangk to admire the *Orthographia* of Maximilian's chancery language. They are therefore essential to a working definition of the chancery dialect that attempts not only to describe its features but also to account for its sixteenth-century reputation.

HANS MOSER'S SYNGRAPHIC ANALYSES

The area of modern linguistics that addresses itself particularly to the aspects of language implicit in the sixteenth-century term "Orthographia" is graphemics. The graphemic method Hans Moser selected for his 1977 examination of Maximilian's chancery language is an approach indicated by the material itself. Moser's objectives were to provide preliminary information about the general characteristics and the range of influence of the chancery language, supply data for related diachronic studies in historical linguistics, and develop a concept of the linguistic norm of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that avoided the superimposition of anachronistic linguistic values, which has to this point resulted in the conclusion that ENHG scribal practices were arbitrary.³⁰¹

To date Moser's study has not received the attention it deserves as a contribution to the history of the German language, and it has attracted some rather pointed criticism from historical linguists.³⁰² There are problematic aspects of Moser's study, some to be considered below; but these do not detract from its usefulness. In the present investigation we have questioned from the outset whether or not there was a single set of features that could account for both the sixteenth-century and the modern reputation of Maximilian's chancery dialect. The extralinguistic evidence presented thus far suggests that the assumptions of modern philologists about the written language have little to do with the orthographic concerns of Luther and his contemporaries. Moser's graphemic analysis provides

a plausible characterization of Maximilian's chancery language that can be related fairly successfully to both the sixteenth-century and the modern assertions about the dialect, thus eliminating much of the confusion that has been perpetuated by the handbook accounts and permitting us to view the written language in its historical context. For this reason we will consider Moser's study in some detail.

Methodology

Moser's investigation of Maximilian's chancery language is both graphemic and synchronic because he felt that a more traditional diachronic study, attempting to relate the chancery data to MHG or OHG systems of linguistic relationships, would be inefficient and poorly suited to the material itself.³⁰³ His attempt is to approach his topic by means of a method attuned to the linguistic attitudes of the period under consideration. Through a synchronic analysis of the writing system of Maximilian's chancery production, he seeks to derive the contemporary scribal standard ("Normverständnis") toward which Maximilian's scribes oriented themselves and in terms of which the manuscript production of the chancery was written. He calls this part of his study the "syngraphic" analysis because all the data considered here is from a single source, the manuscript production of Maximilian's chancery; in a second part of his investigation, the "heterographic" analysis, he compares the graphemic features of the Habsburg chancery language developed in the syngraphic analysis to similar features of other approximately contemporary written languages from Upper and Middle Germany.

The syngraphic analysis is the core of Moser's investigation and it is based on two principles he adopts from Wolfgang Fleischer: (1) the German writing system is a system of signs intended to represent phonological content;³⁰⁴ and (2) the grapheme, the basic unit of the graphemic system, is a significans which has as its significatum the phoneme.³⁰⁵ In writing, graphemes are realized as graphs (letters) or combinations of graphs. A single grapheme may have several allographic variants; these may occur in free variation or

they may be determined by their occurrence in specific words or positions.³⁰⁶ As Paul Roberge explained, "Etic units," in Moser's study, "designate not different visual manifestations of a particular grapheme (e.g., cursive, majuscule, capitals [. . .]) but (normally) different representations of a common phoneme, regardless of whether the graphs in question bear any physical resemblance to one another."³⁰⁷ Moser refers to variant visual representations of a single graph as "different types of a typeme," i.e., as allotypes, and for the most part finds them to be irrelevant to his investigation.³⁰⁸

Moser claims that in his investigative procedure "the first indication of the graphemic significance of characters is their distinctive function in the writing system itself." He continues, however, by saying that this distinctive function is sometimes determined through "phonological prescience" ("phonologisches Vorwissen") and acknowledges that earlier and later graphic and phonological forms ("Prä- und Postgraphien bzw. -phonien") are an important aid in determining the phonological frame of reference of the graphemic system.³⁰⁹ Thus he acknowledges at the outset that his synchronic analysis is utterly dependent on diachronic data and invokes what Herbert Penzl has called "the diachronically definable principle of reality."³¹⁰ Without actually entering the graphemic debate,³¹¹ which is beyond the concerns of our present inquiry, we will consider at a later point to what extent these working assumptions may limit the validity of Moser's data for the question at hand.

Through the establishment of oppositions that may be either complete, suspendable in one direction, or suspendable in two directions, Moser develops the graphemic inventory of Maximilian's chancery language. The unidirectional oppositions that are suspended in the direction of the archigrapheme³¹² are the basis of most of his discoveries about the developmental trends and the dynamics of the variations that occur in Maximilian's chancery language during the period covered by his manuscript samples (1486-1518). Moser explains his concept of the "einseitig aufhebbarer Oppositionen" in terms of its most dramatic example in Maximilian's chancery language. Using

the principle of diachronic verifiability, Moser presents three developmental stages of the MHG graphemes <i> and <ei> in Bavaria as shown in figure 1.

MHG	Maximilian's Chancery Language ENHG	Modern Bavarian NHG
1 <u>i</u>	<u>ei</u> , <u>ey</u>	ae
2 ei	<u>ei</u> , <u>ey</u> , <u>ai</u> , <u>ay</u>	oa, a, <u>etc.</u>

FIGURE 1. The Unidirectional Neutralization³¹³

The set of allographs shared by the two graphemes (those boxed by the broken line in the figure) is the basis of the unidirectional neutralization. In Maximilian's chancery language ei and ey may be written as graphic reflexes of MHG <ei>, but ai and ay may not in accordance with the chancery norm (see "The Basic Syngraphic Description" below) be written for MHG <i>.³¹⁴

Moser's characterization of Maximilian's chancery language is based on an examination of about 340 manuscripts that were produced by different units of the chancery system at various times during Maximilian's reign. The total group of documents is subdivided into five main text samples, each designed to evaluate the chancery writing system in terms of specific variables. In developing his basic graphemic definition of the chancery language, Moser views the chancery as a "common sender" ("gemeinsamer Sender"), or single agent. Since his study is concerned not only with identifying the writing practices used by Maximilian's scribes, but also with determining to what extent this orthographic system was influenced by and exerted influence on other approximately contemporaneous forms of written German, Moser bases his characterization of the language exclusively on the outward-bound production of the chancery.³¹⁵

On the basis of his investigation of the institutional structure and relationships of the Habsburg chancery system during

Maximilian's reign, Moser concludes correctly that the chancery to investigate is the Hofkanzlei, and he bases his primary characterization of the chancery language on its production. The first of his syngraphic analyses, and the working description of the chancery writing system to which all other partial investigations are compared, is an evaluation of thirty-four Hofkanzlei documents written between 1490 and 1493 that were intended for Austrian recipients (Corpus I,1). The results of this investigation are then adjusted by comparing them with those arrived at by examining fifteen additional documents from the same chancery during the same period addressed to northern recipients (Corpus I,2). Moser chooses the period 1490-93 as the logical beginning point for his manuscript analyses, because he feels that these are the years when the separation of the local and central chanceries was accomplished and before the Imperial Chancery came into existence.³¹⁶ Moser's second sample is a group of thirty-five Hofkanzlei documents from between 1515 and 1518 intended for both southern and northern recipients; it represents the final developmental stage of the writing system used during Maximilian's reign. A comparison of Corpora I and II permits Moser to identify evolutionary trends in the scribal tradition over a period of almost thirty years.

Having established a viable description of the chancery usage for the span of Maximilian's reign on the basis of the first two samples, Moser designs two additional samples to resolve some specific issues about the chancery language of the sort discussed in chapter 1 of this study. Moser's Corpus III is a group of thirty-five holographs by fifteen known chancery personalities (III,1), and eleven "doubles" (i.e., drafts and register entries, showing the same text at two stages of its execution).³¹⁷ Moser's Corpus V is a group of twenty-six documents dating from between 1494 and 1502 from the Reichskanzlei of Berthold von Mainz. The largest sample is Corpus IV, a group of 180 chancery manuscripts varying widely in date, variety, and recipient. This voluminous and deliberately heterogeneous group of manuscripts was designed as a test sample to ensure that the selection bases of the other samples had been broad enough to produce a

valid characterization of the written language. Of particular interest in this sample is a group of texts from the years 1486-90 (the "Vorphase") documenting the earliest stages of the scribal usage under Maximilian.³¹⁸

After developing his initial characterization of Maximilian's chancery language on the basis of sample group I,1, Moser adjusts these findings to accommodate additional data from the manuscripts of sample groups I,2; II; and IV. The supplementary information developed from samples III and V suggests how certain of the features derived from the earlier samples should be interpreted; the corroborating data from sample IV establishes the validity of the earlier findings. Together the results of the partial studies contribute to the general graphemic characterization of Maximilian's chancery language, which Moser compares to other contemporary writing systems in the heterographic analysis. It is this general description based on the chancery usage between 1490 and 1493 that interests us most. We will use Moser's own summary³¹⁹ of these results to answer some of the questions that have been developed in chapters 1 and 2; beyond this we will consider in detail only those aspects of his analysis that may have colored the data he presents.

The Basic Syntographic Description

Before beginning his examination of individual graphemes, Moser presents a complete inventory of the graphs and types occurring in the first sample. In terms of his definitions, however, these lists are essentially inventories of graphs alone, because many allotypic variants are presented only in generalized forms. "Diacritical symbols used to mark vocalic graphs or combinations of graphs are omitted from the outset if their graphemic irrelevance has been established" (e.g., over y, ay, ey, and ye; over u/w in eu and ew).³²⁰ Moser considers these all to be one allotype of a typeme and treats them as a single variant, that is, as the marked form of the graph. Having established on the basis of an undescribed preliminary investigation that the several diacritical symbols used to mark u are variants

of a form and have no distinctive value, Moser generalizes the markers and substitutes for all of them the acute symbol (') above the marked vowels in his analyses and sample texts. Capitalization is not taken into account because it is considered a stylistic variant.³²¹

The Graphemes

Moser presents the graphemic system from the beginning of Maximilian's reign (based on Corpus I with adjustments from Corpus IV) as shown in figure 2.

Vowels

$\langle ie \rangle$ $\langle i \rangle \langle ee \rangle + \langle e \rangle + \langle \acute{e} \rangle \rightarrow \langle a \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle ei \rangle \quad + \quad \langle ai \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle ew \rangle \quad \quad \quad \langle au \rangle$	$\langle ue \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \downarrow$ $\langle o \rangle \quad + \quad \langle \acute{o} \rangle \quad + \quad \langle u \rangle$
--	---

Consonants

a) $\langle b \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle ph \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle w \rangle \quad \quad \quad \langle f \rangle \quad + \quad \langle ff \rangle \langle ss \rangle \quad + \quad \langle m \rangle$	$\langle d \rangle \quad + \quad \langle t \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle z \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle n \rangle \quad + \quad \langle nn \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle l \rangle \quad + \quad \langle ll \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle r \rangle \quad + \quad \langle rr \rangle$	$\langle \acute{b} \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \downarrow$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle k \rangle$ $\quad \quad \quad \langle ch \rangle$
---	--	--

b) $\langle x \rangle$

FIGURE 2. The Basic Graphemic System³²²

Graphemic Neutralization

Some of the graphemic oppositions shown above may be suspended under certain circumstances. The unidirectional neutralizations affecting vowels may occur in any environment. Other oppositions, however, particularly those involving consonants, may only be suspended in specific positions. Moser describes the unidirectional opposition $\langle ei \rangle \quad + \quad \langle ai \rangle$, for example, as freely suspendable by contrast with the opposition $\langle s \rangle - \langle sch \rangle$, which only occurs initially before particular consonants. The main conditions under which the positionally determined neutralizations may occur he summarizes as follows:³²³

(1) <u> - <o> before -n as in sunt ~ sonst; the pattern is expanded to include a group of other specific words in which the opposition is also suspended, e.g., kumen ~ komen, mugen ~ mogen.

(2) <d> - <t> finally after -n as in land ~ lant; the neutralization does not spread to other environments; it results in a "neutralization variant"³²⁴ (see below), dt, that occurs in the same position (e.g., landt).

(3) <g> - <k> in -ig + -lich and -ig/-ich + -heit/-keit, as in kuniglich, pillichait; -g is occasionally written as the neutralization variant gk word-finally; <g> ~ <k> after short vowels as in zu rugk.

(4) <h> - <ch> finally as in hoch.

(5) <s> - <sch> in absolute initial and morpheme-initial position before -l, -m, -n, -w, -p, and -t, as in slosser and besliessen.

The remaining neutralizations occur less regularly:

(6) <r> - <rr> intervocally and finally after vowel.

(7) <l> - <ll> intervocally and to some extent finally after vowel.

(8) <s> - <ss> intervocally and to some extent finally after vowel.

(9) <n> - <nn> intervocally.

(10) <f> - <ff> intervocally (weakly represented in Moser's samples).

Moser notes that the most significant aspect of this pattern of neutralizations is its predictability. In three cases, he says, the neutralization process has resulted in specific neutralization variants: <d> ~ <t>, dt; <g> ~ <k>, gk/gc; and <s> ~ <ss>, sz. Beyond the preceding list of regular neutralizations (i.e., those that are in accordance with the scribal conventions of the Hofkanzlei writing system), Moser notes that in Maximilian's chancery language

at this stage there is still a small group of words in -iren (-ieren) showing the neutralization <i> ~ <ie>. Neutralizations not included in the preceding list may also be regular in terms of the chancery usage in specific words (as frembd ~ frombd), and irregular or unconventional neutralizations, as suggested above, are also possible, but infrequent (see "Chancery Case Studies" below).³²⁵

Vocalic Marking

Moser observes that the tendency to mark umlaut environments is not very pronounced in Maximilian's chancery language at this stage and that the umlaut graphemes (<é>, <ö>) are subject to unidirectional neutralization. In the case of <é>, which represents the secondary umlaut of /a/ in this system, Moser shows two regular unidirectional neutralizations of the grapheme: <é> → <e> and <é> → <a>. He justifies the graphemic status of <é> by explaining that the alternation of e ~ é ~ ä ~ a is only conceivable in terms of the secondary umlaut since the opposition <a> - <e> is otherwise clear and without variants. Moser is not able to isolate distinctive graphemes for the umlauted forms of /u/ and /ue/ and he warns the reader that in the spellings ú and úe the diacritical hook is not necessarily an umlaut symbol. ú is sometimes written to indicate umlauting, sometimes to show diphthongization; ue and úe are also written to indicate diphthongs, although some reflexes of the MHG diphthongs are spelled u in the sample.³²⁶

The Variants

Moser arranges the allographic variants as in figure 3 to correspond to the catalog of graphemes shown above. The underlined forms are the variants he has used as graphemic designations; in most cases these are the variants occurring with the highest frequency in the sample.³²⁷

This visual presentation emphasizes Moser's phonemic understanding of the term grapheme and shows with particular clarity his concept of the unidirectional neutralization. Thus e is shown as a variant of <é>, but é is not shown as a variant of <e> because <e>,

in terms of the unidirectional neutralizations indicated, is without variants (see "The Merits of the Sygraphic Analysis" below). Moser notes the wide range in the number of variants associated with the individual graphemes: e, o, and a are practically without variants in this system, whereas the variants of the guttural affricate (those shown for both g and k) are so numerous as to approach unintelligibility ("Variation bis zur Unübersichtlichkeit").³²⁸

Vowels

<u>ie</u> , ye					<u>ue</u> , <u>øe</u> , <u>ø</u> , <u>øi</u> , <u>v</u> , <u>ø</u>
<u>i</u> , y, J	<u>ee</u> , e	<u>e</u>	<u>ɛ</u> , e, ɛ, a	<u>a</u> , (aa)	<u>ɛ</u> , o
			<u>ei</u> , ey	<u>ai</u> , ay, ei, ey	<u>ø</u> , v, ø, ø
			<u>eu</u> , eu	<u>au</u> , aw	

Consonants

<u>b</u> , p, (fp)	<u>d</u> , dt	<u>t</u> , tt, (th)	<u>g</u> , gk, gc, (gg)
<u>ph</u> , (pf)	<u>z</u> , cz/tz, c, t, tf, ts		<u>k</u> , c, q, ck, ckh, (ch), (dh)
<u>v</u> , u	<u>f</u> , v, u, ff	<u>ʃ</u> , ss, f, ff, fs, (z)	<u>ʃ</u> , sch, /ch, f, s
<u>m</u> , <u>ñ</u>	<u>nn</u>	<u>nn</u>	<u>l</u> , (=l) <u>h</u> , ch
	<u>ll</u>	<u>ll</u>	<u>ng</u> , nng
	<u>r</u>	<u>rr</u>	<u>ch</u>

FIGURE 3. The Variants

Many of the allographic variants, particularly those belonging to the consonantal graphemes, occur only in specific positions. Moser shows that the absolute initial position is the most restricted with respect to the variants. The following variants do not occur word-initially: all doublings except ee (as in eer); i: j; d: dt; s: z; z: tz/cz, c, t; u: ü, u; g: gk, gc; h: ch; k: ck, ckh. The following variants do not occur medially: u: v, ü; s: ss, (z); h: ch; f: v; sch: s; k: (ch, dh), g. A few isolated words and syllables form a group of regular exceptions within the chancery usage to these rules describing the distribution of allographic variants. These exceptions include: t: th (in thun, -thumb); k: ch (in churfürst, marschalch); k: dh (in dhain).³²⁹

One of the most useful results of Moser's investigation of the allographic variants is the definition he develops for the much-maligned ENHG practice of Konsonantenhäufung or, as Ickelsamer put it, "Cacographia." He says that since there is no rigid graphemic opposition between the single and double forms of many consonants, the individual scribe may double the character at will in these optional situations. He observes that although none of Maximilian's scribes exercises the option consistently, they all seem to observe this convention: in a sequence of two consonantal graphemes the double variant of only one may be written.³³⁰ The application of this rule shows that the form Hellffershellffer (see "Ziegler and the Chancery Language of Maximilian I," chapter 1), which has been so popular among historians of the German language as an example of the sort of consonantal excess that Maximilian's chancery language is supposed to have overcome, is indeed atypical of the chancery usage. This rule also supports Moser's interpretation of the graphic combinations he calls "neutralization variants" (above). The neutralization variants often occur in combination with another doubled consonant (e.g., lanndt) in texts that feature no sequences of single doubled consonants (e.g., Hellffer). This suggests that the scribes did not consider the neutralization variants to be doubled consonants.

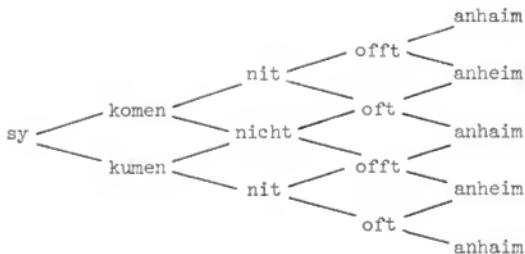
Moser's meticulous examination of the allographic variants leads him to two other general observations about the writing system that was employed in Maximilian's chancery. First, the tendency to indicate vocalic length is quite weak. The sole vocalic grapheme that may only represent a lengthened grade is <ee>; it occurs in but a few short words and may also be expressed by its variant e. Beyond this, vowel length may be indicated by the opposition of single and double postvocalic consonants. No single graph (such as h or e) is used as a sign of lengthening throughout the writing system. Second, the same graphemic principles described to this point apply in both stressed and unstressed syllables.³³¹

The Common Practice as the Standard

The point-by-point analysis of Corpus I,1 not only leads Moser to his basic description of the graphemic system of Maximilian's chancery language, but it also allows him to draw significant conclusions about the sort of standard and the degree of consciousness of that standard which the sample as a whole reflects. He concludes that: (1) there is "a relatively simple system of graphemes that guarantees unambiguous communication" ("ein [...] relativ einfaches System von Graphemen, das eine zweifelsfreie Kommunikation garantiert"); (2) within that system the individual scribe has considerable latitude in his choice of variants, in his choice between certain graphemes, and in some cases in his decision whether or not to observe regular oppositions; and (3) a certain number of deviations from the chancery norm are tolerated.³³² In his comparison of Corpora I,1 and I,2 Moser establishes conclusively that the same variety of chancery German was written to all external correspondents and that the chancery usage was not adjusted for northern and southern recipients.³³³ Moser characterizes the "chancery norm" in a way which is harmonious with the linguistic thinking that produced it, and he demonstrates dramatically (figure 4) the flexibility inherent in this definition:

Diese Art von Norm ist von der heute üblichen, die keinerlei Variation erlaubt, grundsätzlich verschieden, aber weder 'willkürlich' noch 'verwildert'. Um Mißverständnisse zu vermeiden, wird für sie (wenn der Begriff 'Norm' nicht ausdrücklich näher charakterisiert wird) der Terminus 'Usus' vorgezogen. Usus bedeutet also 'elastische Norm' im beschriebenen Sinn, Norm, die innerhalb eines festen Rahmens verschiedene Möglichkeiten variierender Realisierung erlaubt.³³⁴

The sentence in figure 4, which can be read sixteen different ways, shows clearly the amount and variety of leeway existing in the "elastic norm" of the chancery writing system as it is characterized by Moser.

FIGURE 4. The "Elastic" Chancery Norm³³⁵

The Merits of the Syngraphic Analysis

Before proceeding to his other analyses, let us examine briefly some of the reservations that have been expressed about Moser's investigative method and consider whether or not his technique invalidates his description of the chancery writing system for the purposes of the present study. Moser's approach derives essentially from the graphemic method developed by Wolfgang Fleischer in his 1966 work on the written language of Michael Weiße,³³⁶ and from the investigative technique of Herbert Penzl, from whom he adopts several of his termini technici.³³⁷

In his Lautsystem und Lautwandel (1971), Penzl outlines the philological method of historical phonological textual analysis that is reflected to a considerable extent in Moser's examination of the Habsburg chancery language. Penzl's basic premise is that synchronic phenomena in historical languages must be explained and verified diachronically. Assumptions about an individual stage in the evolution of a language, however, must be developed from the historical texts themselves or from their writing systems. In Penzl's synchronic, positivistic method of analyzing an historical ("nichtzeitgenössisch") written text, the investigator must first determine the phonemic system and then attempt to identify the allophones and describe the spoken values ("Sprachlaute") indicated by the written symbols. The

phonemic and phonetic values for a given text are derived by subjecting the written evidence to an ordered set of analyses of its features. Penzl proceeds on the hypothesis that German scribes sought to render phonemic distinctions with the Latin alphabet and that one must therefore approximate the phonetic value of individual letters on the basis of their assumed value in Latin. He then develops an inventory of characters and symbols for each text; it reflects such features as capitalization, punctuation, marking, and abbreviations. The analysis of these graphs begins with the establishment of their distribution patterns in all positions within words. Regular oppositions are determined through minimal pairs.³³⁸

At this point the comparative analysis begins. The graphic patterns of the individual text are compared with those of other contemporary texts and with those from earlier and later periods in the development of the language in order to determine variation and alternation between graphemes. Graphic oppositions are considered to reflect phonemic oppositions, and the assumed phonetic values ("Lautwerte") of the Latin alphabet are used as a point of departure in determining the phonetic values of the German graphs. Diagraphic comparisons are used to establish whether a collapse or overlap between graphs indicates a collapse of phonemes. Diachronic material is used to clarify these issues.³³⁹

In more general terms, Penzl asserts that "constant reference to the facts of the historical past of a language [...] characterizes synchronic description in historical linguistics," and that "a philologically exact interpretation of the text [...] is the prerequisite for synchronic analysis."³⁴⁰ In applying these principles to the matter of developing valid phonological data from historical texts, Penzl considers three ways in which phonological textual analysis has been undertaken to date: some scholars have considered the written texts to be phonetic transcriptions (E. Sievers); others have used historical texts as synchronic material for comparison with a phonemic system developed on the basis of comparative diachronic reconstruction (R. A. Hall, J. C. McLaughlin); and a third group of

scholars has derived phonemic systems directly from the written evidence itself (P. Valentin, W. Fleischer). Penzl considers only the third procedure appropriate.³⁴¹

Depending on one's assessment of his technique, Moser's study falls into one of the latter two categories. The distinction between these two orientations, however, is simply one of degree. Both are phonemically oriented, and behind each hovers a generalized system of German phonemes that the investigator either derives from the texts deductively or "discovers" in the texts inductively. Both approaches are quite inductive, however, because even the discovery techniques employed by Penzl and Fleischer, for example, require that the investigator command considerable phonological prescience in order to isolate the multigraphic variants in the inventory of the writing system, identify the oppositions, and interpret the minimal pairs that establish the basic phonemic system. This should be considered in evaluating the critique of Moser's study.

Both Roberge and Straßner have objected to the phonemic orientation of Moser's analysis. Roberge has declared that Moser's definition "reduces the notion 'grapheme' to near vacuity" and that "the graphemic approach, as conceived by Moser, does not represent a viable interpretative paradigm" for the evaluation of Germanic texts.³⁴² Straßner has also questioned Moser's method for determining graphemes:

Obwohl der Schrift eine 'relative Autonomie' zuerkannt wird, obwohl 'die lautlich/phonologischen Inhalte der graphischen Zeichen nur teilweise bekannt sind' und bei der Stützkonstruktion der Prä- und Postgraphien bzw. -phonien 'diachronische Tatsachen schon in die synchrone Analyse' hineinspielen (S. 56 f.), werden Graphe (Buchstaben) und Graphenverbindungen nicht als das Ausgangsmaterial angesehen, das es primär auf distinktive Funktionen hin zu analysieren gilt, ohne spekulative oder vom 'Vorwissen' her geprägte Interpretation. Die phonemorientierte Graphembestimmung wie der weitere Zusammenbau zu Graphensystemen erfolgen nicht aus dem Material heraus, sondern werden von außen her an das Material herangetragen. Typisches äußeres Merkmal solchen Vorgehens ist die Terminologie der Phonemik, mit der unreflektiert operiert wird.³⁴³

As indicated, however, the degree to which an investigation of this sort, regardless of one's definition of grapheme, can be free of prescience and still have pertinence for comparative historical phonological studies is limited. The derivation of graphemes may appear to be more or less deductive, but the entire process of establishing the graphemic system is predicated on the researcher's diachronic knowledge of the language under investigation and on his expectations within this framework as he approaches his subject.³⁴⁴ Thus Straßner's objections to Moser's use of diachronic material is germane to the question of developing a more empirical graphemic method, but not to whether Moser proceeded correctly in terms of his chosen investigative orientation. Moser does not claim a paradigmatic value for his method; neither does he claim to have made any particular headway with basic graphemic issues. He simply adopts a method that will allow him to present the essential characteristics of Maximilian's chancery language in a way that can account for its sixteenth-century acclaim. The criticism of the phonemic orientation of the study overlooks the author's purpose to provide data that can be coordinated with related historical linguistic investigations. The inductive aspect of Moser's study is not a defect that calls his investigative method into question from a theoretical and a practical standpoint.

Nevertheless there are some troublesome aspects of Moser's study. His decision to generalize all diacritical markers to a single symbol and to eliminate altogether those markers he considers to be graphemically irrelevant gives the impression of a more ordered, less ambiguous, simpler orthographic system than Maximilian's chancery seems to have used. Reference to contemporary grammatical treatises shows that diacritical markers were used not only to identify certain characters visually (primarily u) but also to mark both umlaut and diphthong environments.³⁴⁵ Moser does not explain on what basis he establishes the graphemic relevance of the markers he retains; neither does he note that diphthongs were marked regularly according to the scribal practice of the period. This leads one to question the accuracy of his manuscript sample in this respect. In transcriptions

of texts from the period, markers should be retained above digraphic diphthongs because they indicate an altered vocalic environment from the standpoint of sixteenth-century German linguistic theory, whether or not umlauting is also implied. In such cases the diacritical symbol indicates the scribe's marking of a phonological and not just a visual phenomenon. Further, it is often impossible to distinguish the u's, y's, and w's that were marked to identify the letters visually from those marked to indicate umlauting or diphthongization.

For the most part Moser is consistent in defining his graphemes according to the underlying phonemic systems he assumes. This is convenient for purposes of comparison with related historical linguistic studies, but in some instances it seems to introduce an order difficult to derive from the graphic data. In the case of the grapheme <é>, for example, Moser uses the marked vowel to indicate umlauting although this is not the way the umlaut is usually indicated in the sample texts. Proceeding phonemically, Moser identifies two basic e-graphemes in Corpus I,1. He uses the marked character é to designate the secondary umlaut of /a/ and the unmarked character e to represent all other e-sounds in the system. (Later <ee> is added as an adjustment of the system to indicate the lengthened grade of the vowel.) The separation of the graphemes <é> and <e>, however, is based more on phonological prescience than on unambiguous textual data. Moser creates an independent grapheme <é> to represent the secondary umlaut on the basis of minimal pairs like réten - reden and of the coincidence of the marked e-forms in the sample with forms containing the umlaut both in the historical language and in modern Bavarian. He does so despite the fact that in the majority of instances the secondary umlaut is spelled e, not é, in the sample. He explains in accordance with his system of unidirectional neutralizations that e should be considered the most frequent variant of <é>, but that é may not be considered a variant of <e>, even though é is written occasionally for an e-sound that does not result from umlauting.³⁴⁶

This treatment of the e-graphemes typifies the phonemic technique that Straßner has questioned, but it is useful to the historical phonologist who needs a basis for categorizing the myriad marked and unmarked e-spellings that occur in the Habsburg chancery texts and other UG writing systems from the period. It blurs the fact, however, that in the Habsburg writing system several phonemes are represented by the same graph e, and that scribes did not find it necessary to distinguish graphically between the several similar e-sounds that characterize the Bavarian dialects. In separating the graphemes <é> and <e> as he does, Moser distinguishes between phonemes that are only partially distinct in the minds of the sixteenth-century scribes who wrote them.³⁴⁷

Moser's similar phonemic treatment of the Bavarian labial stop, which he represents with the grapheme , is consistent with his method, but it has apparently confused reviewer Roberge because it too suggests an ordering principle that is not superficially evident from the textual data. Roberge objects to Moser's interpretation of p and pp as allographic variants of , and suggests that the presence of initial p in loanwords precludes the assignment of the graph to .³⁴⁸ Roberge's argument would suggest that a new contrast has been introduced into the Bavarian phonemic system through these foreign forms. The fact that loanwords containing an initial /p/ are frequently spelled with b (e.g., babst, bábstlich, brobst)³⁴⁹ by Maximilian's chancery scribes argues against such a development, however, and confirms Moser's interpretation of the graphs.

In other respects Moser may have gone too far in his attempt to explain the features of Maximilian's chancery language in terms of systematic neutralizations. Roberge argues correctly that the assimilation of n before labials (ent- in embieten) should not be described as neutralization between <m> and <n>, and that the lexemic alternation niht/nit and the occurrence of epenthetic consonants in furstentumb and frembd should not be called neutralizations. He is also correct in saying that <x> in Maximilian is not a portmanteau grapheme.³⁵⁰

None of these objections seriously limits the usefulness of Moser's characterization of the chancery language for our investigation. The phonemic definition of graphemes is practical in this case, although it is not without its theoretical drawbacks; once this phonemic orientation has been accepted, other objections to the inductive, diachronic aspects of Moser's study become pointless because they are inherent to his method. Moser's generalization and omission of diacritical markers in his sample texts and analyses is problematic because it alters a very characteristic feature of the chancery writing system before analysis begins. Moser does not explain on what basis which markers have been excluded, and his sample texts as well as his general remarks on the subject suggest that he does not view the characteristic marking of diphthongs in the chancery hands to be anything more than a marking of letters for the purposes of visual recognition. Even though this aspect of the chancery writing system is somewhat altered in Moser's investigation, however, the overall description provided by his syngraphic analysis is sufficiently valid for our purposes. It provides a set of features by which texts written in accordance with the usage of Maximilian's chancery can be identified and distinguished from those written in some other varieties of ENHG. In most respects the definition has been developed in a way that takes into account sixteenth-century German linguistic thinking. Hence we can use Moser's basic characterization along with the results of his other partial investigations to answer some of the remaining questions about the nature and significance of Maximilian's chancery language.

The Additional Syngraphic Analyses

Moser's comparison of the features of the text sample from the end of Maximilian's reign (Corpus II) with those presented in the basic syngraphic analysis shows the intensification of certain trends that were present in the earlier manuscripts. Over the two and a half decades that elapse between the samples, the unidirectional neutralization <ei> ↔ <ai> becomes a full opposition. The distinction between

the graphemes <u> and <ue> also becomes clearer. In the later texts the digraphic spellings are used for the reflexes of the MHG diphthongs /uo/ and /üe/ in the great majority of instances, and this tendency occurs even in a handful of words that normally resist the digraphic spellings. The marked variant of each of the graphemes occurs most frequently (ú, úe). Moser notes, however, that the marker has no distinctive function in these cases. The most frequent variant of the umlaut grapheme <é>, continues to be e, but in the later sample á becomes the second most frequent variant spelling of the umlaut. The alternation niht/nit disappears and nit becomes the regular chancery negation. The opposition <o> + <ó> is intensified. The number of possible graphemic neutralizations and variants in the guttural range increases. The digraphs kh and ch occur as initial variants of <k>, and ckh occurs more frequently as a medial variant of this grapheme.³⁵¹

Moser interprets these changes, with the exception of the increase in guttural forms and the ascendancy of the southern negation particle, to be natural developments of the system itself: the opposition between <ei> and <ai> prevents the collapse of the two phonemes; the increase of the á-variant of <é> strengthens the existing pattern of marked vowels used to represent umlauted sounds (<ó>, e.g.) at the same time that it reduces the pressure on the overused letter e. He concludes that taken together they represent a closing and consolidation of the writing system.³⁵²

The characteristics of the chancery language from the period before 1490 differ in several respects from those developed in the syngraphic analysis. In the Vorphase the unidirectional neutralizations <i> + <ei>, <u> + <au>, <u> + <ew> still occur. Until 1489 the unidirectional neutralization <u> + <ú> represents a distinction between the unumlauted monophthong (u) and the umlaut or diphthong (ú), although there are unmarked spellings of the umlaut-diphthong environments and marked spellings of the unumlauted /u/ from the outset in this earliest period (cf. <e> and <é> in the syngraphic analysis). In the Vorphase ai-spellings are rare. The following

neutralizations, which still occur in the earliest sample, are severely reduced or disappear in the basic syngraphic analysis: $\langle\mathbf{i}\rangle \leftarrow \langle\mathbf{ie}\rangle$, $\langle\mathbf{d}\rangle \sim \langle\mathbf{t}\rangle$, $\langle\mathbf{a}\rangle \sim \langle\mathbf{o}\rangle$. Moser feels that the features of this earlier stage of the chancery language confirm his conclusion that the developments in the scribal usage between 1490 and 1518 are the natural outgrowth of the system itself.³⁵³

In his examination of Corpus III, Moser considers the manuscript production of individual chancery personalities in various sorts of documents intended for both internal and external circulation. He assesses the written language of each of fifteen leading chancery personalities by comparing the features of their individual holographic production with the general description developed in the syngraphic analysis. In this way he determines how each used the flexibility inherent in the writing system. Not surprisingly he finds that no scribe makes use of the full range of orthographic options available to him in the system and that the written language of any particular scribe thus appears to be more regular than the chancery norm itself. The chancery German used in internal correspondence does not differ perceptibly from that used in the external correspondence on which the syngraphic description is based. Moser notes that the geographic origin of the writer generally has no effect on the variety of German he writes. There is a noticeable difference, however, in the scribal features of different kinds of chancery texts. Moser finds that orthographic patterns evident in highly stylized formal engrossed texts and in chancery drafts resemble each other and adhere fairly closely to the chancery norm. Letters, on the other hand, show fewer consonant doublings and more modern spellings.³⁵⁴

One of the secretaries whose scribal production Moser examines in this partial investigation does not write according to the chancery norm. Johann Storch is one of the group of scribes whom Moser associates with Mainz and the Imperial Chancery at the earliest stages of Maximilian's reign. He was a member of the Reichskanzlei in 1486 and around 1494 seems to have joined the Hofkanzlei. In 1505 his written German looked quite different from the chancery norm and

showed several of the neutralizations associated with the Vorphrase. By 1513, however, Storch's orthography had begun to look much more like the norm. Moser describes Storch as a secretary who had not mastered the chancery usage and suggests that over time he was unable to resist the dominant conventions of the chancery. In comparing the first two samples to the Vorphrase documents, Moser also suggests that the relative consistency of the chancery scribal practice for the main period of Maximilian's reign indicates an established usage ("ein fester Kanzleibrauch") toward which individual scribes oriented themselves. 355

The case of Storch is puzzling. It is unlikely that a professional penman who was active in the Habsburg chanceries for nearly thirty years would only have learned to adjust his orthography to the chancery norm in the last decade of his service if there had been any compulsion for him to do so. As we have seen in chapter 2, young penmen in this period learned to write various styles and scripts and were taught to be sensitive to questions of orthography. If Storch wrote as he had always written for his first twenty years in the chancery, there was probably no need for him to change his writing pattern. The changes in his orthography after 1505 should probably be seen as the gradual adoption of forms Storch saw produced regularly in the chancery around him, and not as a late attempt by the secretary to master the orthography of his younger colleagues. By comparison with the chancery norm, the orthography of Storch reflects a somewhat older scribal tradition. The differences between his usage and the norm may be explained as a difference of scribal generations in the chancery.

In a final syngraphic investigation Moser examines the graphemic features of Berthold's Reichskanzlei production between 1494 and 1502. He discovers, as one might expect on the basis of the interdependency and overlapping personnel of the Imperial and Court Chanceries, that the scribal usage is a variant of the Hofkanzlei norm. In the Reichskanzlei production, ai- and ue-spellings occur infrequently and cannot be considered independent graphemes in this sample.

This may be explained in part by the fact that the period covered by the Reichskanzlei sample is only about a third as long as that represented by Corpora I and II. In his investigation of Corpus V, Moser compares expedited texts to the corresponding entries in the Reichskanzlei register. He notes that the registrar, like the copyists who engrossed chancery drafts, permitted himself considerable orthographic leeway.³⁵⁶

Summary

The syngraphic analyses indicate that the basic graphemic system shown in figures 2 and 3 above dominated the production of Maximilian's chancery after 1490. The same orthography was used for internal chancery communication and for external correspondence intended for northern and southern recipients. The scribal usage of individual scribes is found to be more regular than the chancery norm because the description Moser developed is a composite of many personal writing patterns. An individual's written German is considered to be in accordance with the chancery usage if his orthography features oppositions, neutralizations, and variants within the range covered by the general description. Moser has observed that normally the geographic origin of an individual scribe does not affect his writing conventions.

It may be, however, that on a larger scale the regional training if not the geographic derivation of chancery personnel may have influenced the tone of the graphemic system. In speaking of exceptions to the chancery usage, Moser relates the writing patterns of Johann Storch and of the Reichskanzlei scribes represented in Corpus V to their "mainzische Herkunft."³⁵⁷ The reference here is not to their actual geographic origins, however, but rather to the first chancery tradition with which they can be associated, that of the Reichskanzlei. Their exceptional scribal practices are probably evidence of scribal training from an earlier period and perhaps also from a different geographic region. They are not indications of a different scribal standard maintained in the Imperial Chancery. The fact that

the new members of the Hofkanzlei staff, who were added from the late eighties onward, were predominantly UG and were at least in part trained in Upper Germany (see "Chancery Case Studies" below) may have affected the way the graphemic system of the chancery language continued to develop during Maximilian's reign. The older scribes or scribes from the MG border areas who had learned to write an orthography that did not feature the Bavarian ai- and ue-spellings probably continued to function without retooling orthographically. When new blood was introduced into the chancery system by Maximilian, however, it was brought in primarily from his own UG region and employed in his own Hofkanzlei. This concentration of more recently trained Upper Germans in the central chancery may account in part for the perceptible change in the orthographic features of the written language between 1486 and 1493.

CHANCERY CASE STUDIES

The fact that contemporaries considered Maximilian's chancery language to be superior on the basis of its orthography answers many of the questions about the written dialect that have persisted in the histories of the language. And Moser's definition of the flexible chancery norm makes it possible to some extent to identify documents written in accordance with the Habsburg usage. The questions remaining to be answered about the writing system have to do with linguistic self-consciousness in the chancery itself and with the reputation and influence of the chancery language outside the Habsburg administrative network and beyond the EUG region. Although we cannot be certain about the attitude of Maximilian's scribes toward the German they wrote, Moser has suggested that they adhered consciously to the loosely defined chancery usage and adjusted their writing habits to conform to it. The following case studies may help clarify this issue by providing information about the chancery as a scribal school, the activities and orthography of Niclas Ziegler, the chancery language as a "literary instrument," and the significance of chancery endorsements.

The surviving holographs and other endorsed chancery documents of Marx Treytzsaurwein, Hans Ried, and Niclas Ziegler bring into sharper focus some of the trends Moser identified in his examination of the manuscripts of individual chancery personalities (Corpus III) and clarify chancery attitudes toward the written language. Each of these chancery writers can be associated closely with Maximilian himself, and each served for some time either in the Court Chancery or in the Tyrolean Chancery as a diplomatic secretary or copyist during Maximilian's reign. Together they represent at least two and possibly three different scribal schools, and two of the three scribes were deeply involved with Maximilian's literary projects as well as with affairs of state. A brief look at the background and scribal practices of each figure reveals the nature and extent of his compliance with the chancery norm as Moser defines it.

The manuscript production of each is evaluated in terms of Moser's characterization of the Habsburg chancery language outlined above. In order to speculate about the scribal tradition and educational background these men represent, I include a cursory summary of the biographical information available about each. The characterization of the individual scribal usages is based on the complete range of their holographic materials that were available to me. Portions of these documents are included in the manuscript sample (appendix 2); they are referred to by number in the text.

Marx Treytzsaurwein

Maximilian's private secretary, Marx Treytzsaurwein, is best remembered for his editorial efforts on some of the Emperor's literary projects. The most important of these were the semiautobiographical works Theuerdank and Weißkunig. Treytzsaurwein served for more than a decade as both a scribe and an administrator, however, before he became involved with Maximilian's literary undertakings, and his diplomatic production from this earlier period shows him to have been a member of the itinerant chancery that accompanied Maximilian on his journeys. Treytzsaurwein is of particular interest because he is the

only one of the scribes whom Maximilian claims to have raised from their youth in the chancery (see "The Training of Chancery Personnel," chapter 2) whose name is known to us. This makes his personal scribal usage and its relationship to the chancery norm as described by Moser particularly significant. If Maximilian's chancery was in any active sense a scribal school, then Treytzsaurwein's written German is an unadulterated example of the orthographic standard it prescribed. If it was no more than a scriptorium in which a somewhat distinctive EUG Gemeindeutsch evolved as the by-product of routine chancery concerns and activities, Treytzsaurwein's personal scribal usage is an exceptional example of that Habsburg language.

Marx Treytzsaurwein belonged to the renowned Treytz family of smiths and armorers and was born in Mühlau near Innsbruck sometime after 1450. Little is known about his youth, but there is no reason to assume that Maximilian's statements about his early service in the chancery are incorrect. The first surviving documentary reference to Treytzsaurwein is from an instruction of Maximilian's dated 5 September 1501, in which the Emperor praises the faithful and useful services of his chancery scribe and awards him a portion of the landholdings that have become vacant through the death of Balthasar Kessler's widow. This suggests that in 1501 the scribe, who might already have been in the chancery for as many as twenty-five or thirty years, was well known to Maximilian and that his chancery services were valued highly. Between 1501 and 1510 Treytzsaurwein received substantial gifts from the Emperor, including partial interest in a vineyard and a mine, operating expenses for the foundry he owned, and not least of all Schloß Schneeberg.³⁵⁸

The chanceries with which Treytzsaurwein was associated during these years were Maximilian's Hofkanzlei and the Tyrolean Chancery at Innsbruck. Documentary evidence shows that Treytzsaurwein was often on assignment between 1504 and 1510 conducting the Emperor's private business from Brabant to Bavaria,³⁵⁹ and that Maximilian had come to depend on his presence at Court. In one instance in 1505, for example, when Treytzsaurwein had been unable to travel with the Court,

Maximilian wrote an urgent letter saying that he was unable to manage without him, and that he was to hire someone at the expense of the Raitkammer to oversee his affairs so he could come to Strassburg and remain at Court for some time. This is not an isolated incident.³⁶⁰

Between 1510 and 1511 Treytsaurwein was severely ill, and both his health and fortune were undermined. In July 1511 he appealed pitifully to Maximilian for assistance. The Emperor advanced him two hundred gulden and within a year the private secretary had recovered and was in Vienna hard at work on Maximilian's literary projects. The illness and the move to Vienna marked the beginning of a new phase of Treytsaurwein's career. From this point there is no further documentary evidence to connect him with Innsbruck,³⁶¹ and in the years that followed Treytsaurwein appears to have worked on at least eleven of Maximilian's literary manuscripts.³⁶² The first of these, the Triumphwagen, was completed in 1513; and the unfinished Weißenkunig manuscript, on which he resumed work in 1526, must have been among the last of his literary efforts. After his move to Vienna Treytsaurwein also assumed a more prominent position in the administrative hierarchy of the Habsburg chancery system; he became Chancellor of the regional chancery for Lower Austria and held this post until his death in 1527.³⁶³

The following aspects of Treytsaurwein's biography make him significant for our investigation. A Tyrolean, he was a native of the SB dialectal region who apparently received his first and only scribal training in Maximilian's chancery. The absence of documentary evidence of his service before 1501 suggests that he actually worked his way up through the ranks of the chancery and is probably one of the few identifiable personalities from Maximilian's staff who would have begun his service at the lowest rather than the middle level of the administrative ladder (see "The Imperial Chancery Ordinance [Reichskanzleiordnung] of 1494," chapter 2). Only after some years of service does he seem to have achieved the status of secretary, which required him to endorse chancery documents.³⁶⁴ He was an approximate contemporary of Maximilian's and seems always to have been attached

to the Emperor's own entourage until he moved to Vienna in 1512. Thus in Treytsaurwein's case we need not assume that he had first learned another older or different scribal usage or had first served in another chancery. Treytsaurwein was the chief scribe of Maximilian's original literary works, some of which he adapted from drafts prepared by others and some of which he took down as dictation and reworked. If the literary language that is supposed to have been forged in Maximilian's chancery was anything more than an orthographic system, Treytsaurwein's literary manuscripts should reflect this. The language of his diplomatic holographs may be considered a pristine example of the chancery usage, and the language of his literary production the best example of that usage as it was adapted in the chancery for literary purposes.

To date I have discovered five diplomatic holographs by Treytsaurwein.³⁶⁵ Of these only [7] and perhaps [11] have been attributed to him previously. One of the manuscripts is an expedited chancery draft ([8]); two are engrossed fair copies, one a mandate ([6]), and one a letter ([9]), each of which bears the Proprialvermerk and can be assumed to have been commissioned by the Emperor if not actually dictated by him;³⁶⁶ and two are personal letters from Treytsaurwein, one to Maximilian ([7]), and one to Serntein ([11]).

In many respects the scribal usage reflected in Treytsaurwein's diplomatic holographs conforms to Moser's first (1493) characterization of Maximilian's chancery language,³⁶⁷ and it shows some of the trends that become evident in the chancery documents from the end of the Emperor's reign (Corpus II). Treytsaurwein regularly writes the dominant variant é for the secondary umlaut of /a/ (<é>) and only once uses the variant ä, which gained ground in chancery writings toward the end of Maximilian's reign. In the few occurrences of the MHG diphthong environments /uo/ and /üe/ in these texts, Treytsaurwein always writes the digraphic variant. In these documents the opposition <ei> - <ai> is complete. Even these short texts, however, feature several additional graphemic neutralizations and variants that Moser did not find to be typical of the chancery norm. These include:

(1) < <u>a</u> > ~ < <u>o</u> >	in <u>Ombras</u> ("Ambras") ([6])
(2) < <u>e</u> > ~ < <u>ö</u> > ~ < <u>o</u> >	in <u>Mössing</u> , <u>Mössing</u> , <u>Mossinghandls</u> ([6])
(3) < <u>o</u> > ~ < <u>ä</u> >	in <u>Bräbst</u> ("Probst") ([6])
(4) < <u>ew</u> > ~ < <u>au</u> >	in <u>hauptlaüten</u> ("Hauptleuten") ([8])
(5) < <u>h</u> : <u>x</u> in <u>h</u> + <u>s</u>	in <u>Sexte</u> ("sechste") ([9]), <u>waxt</u> ("wächst") ([11])
(6) < <u>ph</u> >: <u>pff</u> , <u>pbf</u>	in <u>kupffer</u> ([6]), <u>kuppfer</u> ([7])
(7) < <u>w</u> > ~ < <u>b</u> >	in <u>albeg</u> ([11])

The orthography Treytsaurwein uses in his own correspondence to Maximilian and to Serntein matches that which he writes in the texts commissioned in the Chancery. In the most characteristic features (the treatment of MHG /ɪ/, /ei/, /uo/, and /ie/, this orthography conforms to the chancery norm. Treytsaurwein's personal usage, however, does show many spellings that Moser does not list as regular variants in the chancery writing system.

Manuscripts written by others and endorsed by Treytsaurwein show scribal features similar to his own but, as one would expect, not matching his own orthography in every respect.³⁶⁸ The few diplomatic documents of this sort that I have been able to locate actually conform more closely to Moser's characterization of the chancery norm than Treytsaurwein's own holographs do. This fact, along with Moser's discovery that the orthography of chancery drafts and that of their corresponding register entries do not match, supports the assumption that chancery endorsements were only controls for content.

Treytsaurwein's literary manuscripts provide a different sort of information about Maximilian's chancery language. The manuscript sample includes matching excerpts from two successive Theuerdank drafts that Treytsaurwein wrote between 1513 and 1514. The first of these ([12]) is taken from that portion of a Theuerdank fair copy which Treytsaurwein penned himself; the second ([13]) is from a rough somewhat expanded draft that is entirely in Treytsaurwein's hand and is based on the earlier manuscript. Treytsaurwein's role in the

Theuerdank project was that of editor rather than author. He corrected, recast, and amplified material written or dictated by someone else. The Theuerdank manuscripts [12] and [13] are a second reworking of material written by Maximilian's Silberkämerer, Siegmund von Dietrichstein, in or before 1512. Dietrichstein's poem, Unfallo, appears to have been expanded by the author or by a second person before Treytzsaurwein began his work on it. Treytzsaurwein's primary task in this project was to organize the existing material in accordance with the overall plan Maximilian was developing for his complete ³⁶⁹ autobiography. His revisions are distinguished by a pronounced lack of poetic flair, and the poem as we read it today is essentially the 1517 edition of the humanist Melchior Pfintzing and not this revision by the chancery secretary.

Only the efforts of the chancery-trained diplomatic secretary, however, are of interest to us here. If a supradialectal literary language was forged in Maximilian's chancery as Waterman and others have suggested, Treytzsaurwein's Theuerdank manuscripts should display it in pristine form. The literary material they present was new at the time when Treytzsaurwein wrote. The model from which he worked cannot have been more than a year or so old, and its author, Dietrichstein, and patron, Maximilian, were also natives of the EUG region. For these reasons we may assume that Treytzsaurwein's model was for the most part free of the linguistic archaisms of an older scribal tradition and of non-Bavarian dialectal influences (cf. "Hans Ried" below). The language of the Theuerdank manuscripts, then, is EUG from the early sixteenth century, and it reflects Maximilian's own narrative concerns as well as the orthographic and literary habits of two of his subjects, Dietrichstein and Treytzsaurwein. The fact that Pfintzing apparently had to go back to the original Unfallo text to complete his work on the Theuerdank suggests that the drafts under consideration are primarily the work of Marx Treytzsaurwein and did not resemble Dietrichstein's original too closely. In examining them we will be concerned not only with the graphemic characteristics of the texts and the way these compare to Treytzsaurwein's scribal usage

in the diplomatic texts, but also to a lesser extent with questions of diction that might be seen as evidence of a literary consciousness in the chancery.

In the Theuerdank manuscripts Treytsaurwein's basic conformity to the chancery usage, as defined by Moser, is confirmed. Here as in the diplomatic texts his orthography reflects many of the developmental trends that continued between 1493 and 1518. In [12] and [13] e is again the dominant variant of <é>. Marked variants in a representing the secondary umlaut do occur somewhat more frequently in these texts than in the diplomatic manuscripts, but they still account for only about a quarter of the attestations of the umlaut environments. As in the diplomatic manuscripts, Treytsaurwein regularly uses the digraphic spelling ue to represent the MHG diphthongs /uo/ and /üe/, although a few monographic spellings occur as minority forms. Treytsaurwein consistently writes the variant s initially before m, p, t, and w and the variant sch initially before l and n to represent the grapheme <sch>. In [12] the opposition <ei> - <ai> is complete; in [13] the opposition is almost complete.

The Theuerdank texts examined show only a few graphemic variants that are irregular according to Moser's definition of the chancery norm:

(1) <ei> ~ <iy>	in <u>driyen</u> ([12])
(2) <f>: <u>bf</u>	in <u>glaubhabftig</u> ([13])
(3) <ng>: <u>nckh</u> , <u>ngkh</u> , <u>nngk</u> , <u>nngkh</u>	in <u>lanckh</u> ([12]); <u>langkh</u> ([13]); <u>aufgangkh</u> ([12] and [13]); <u>lanngk</u> ([13]); <u>lanngkh</u> ([12])

Treytsaurwein's literary manuscripts, both the fair copy and the rough second draft, feature a scribal usage that is very close to the chancery norm. The only difference occurring with any frequency is the number of variants Treytsaurwein writes postvocally for the velar nasal grapheme <ng>. Moser does not show any of the combinations in c, k, h, given in (3) above to be regular variants of <ng> in this position, although he draws attention elsewhere to the great proliferation of guttural variants in the chancery language toward

the end of Maximilian's reign.³⁷⁰ In terms of Moser's graphemic system and his argument for ng as an independent grapheme, however, the spellings -nckh, -ngkh, and -nngkh in the preceding examples must be seen as variants of the nasal and not of the guttural.

From an orthographic point of view it is interesting that the Theuerdank, a brand-new SB romance, was cast from the outset by its EUG creators in the identifiably southeastern but not markedly dialectal written language of the Habsburg chancery. This is probably the result of the orthographic training of the three Upper Germans associated with these drafts. From a stylistic point of view the drafts are unremarkable at best and seem to have escaped being written in cancelleyesch only by the fact that they are composed in verse.

Clemens Biener characterized the text in this way: "Die zusätzte die P ([13] in appendix 2) aufweist, zeigen die charakteristischen eigentümlichkeiten des alten kanzleibeamten und geheimsekretärs, der einmal einen abstecher ins gebiet der poesie macht und dabei doch kanzleischreiber bleibt."³⁷¹

Treytzsaurwein's revisions consisted mainly of minor adjustments in grammar and phraseology. They rarely represent a stylistic improvement. In fact they usually destroy the regular four-beat rhythm of the rhymed couplets. The following examples are typical and reflect Treytzsaurwein's editorial concerns. The lines from [13] in each case show his additions to the text.

	[12]	[13]
2 ^r	An Reichtümb vnnd parem gelt	1 ^r An Reichtumb schain vnd parem gelt
3 ^r	versehen würden nach pilli- chait	3 ^r versehen vnd versorgt wurden nach pillichait
4 ^r	Der Künig samelt Ainen Rat	3 ^v Der Künig samelt gar pald ainen Rat
4 ^v	Ee Sÿ ainen Ratschlag mach- ten	Ee sy ainen entlichen Ratslag machten
	der Ieder were an Adel groß	4 ^r der Ieder were An Adl vnd tugent groß

Most of Treytsaurwein's additions to the text are padding of this sort. He either lengthens the line by making a compound element, or he adds modifiers to existing sentence elements. Only occasionally does he recast a line or make a significant grammatical change:

7 ^r	Er was des alten weysen Künigs	5 ^v	Sein Vater was kunig Andach-
	Sün bekant		tige genannt
	Vnd auch mechtig von steten		Vnnd großmächtig von steten
	vnd großen landt		vnnnd landt
18 ^r	oder Er seinen leib verlor	12 ^r	Oder derselb seinen leib
	darumb solich huet von Inen		mueset verlieren
	ward aufgelegt		Vnd darumb ain soliche huet
			von Inen aufgelegt

Treytsaurwein's product does not show any particular belletristic sensitivity or reflect a chancery preoccupation with literary style. He is not even able to preserve the simple Vierheber of the MHG romances to which the meter of the Theuerdank is intended to allude. This and the other features of his clumsy style suggest that if the term "literary language" is a legitimate designation for Maximilian's chancery dialect, it may not be applied to the stylistic aspects of the literary works produced by the chancery members.

Hans Ried

Hans Ried, Maximilian's customs collector on the Adige, is known to Germanists primarily as the copyist of the remarkable Ambraser Heldenbuch. Over the last century philologists have debated about his fidelity to his sources, his industry as a penman, and his social station, agreeing only on the excellence of his calligraphy. Our present interest in Ried, however, stems from the fact that he, like Treytsaurwein, served for decades as a scribe in the chanceries of Tirol before being selected by Maximilian to copy the poems that are preserved in the Rysenpuech. As in the case of Treytsaurwein, a few of Ried's nonliterary manuscripts survive. A comparison of the scribal usage of Ried's literary and nonliterary texts offers additional information about one scribe's perception of the Habsburg chancery orthographic norm. It may help to determine in what sense Maximilian's written dialect was developed into a literary tool by his

administrators and suggest answers to long-standing questions about how Ried treated the materials he copied.

Although Ried is not attested in documentary evidence before 1496, recent studies by Martin Wierschin and Helmut Weinacht provide a relatively certain outline of the copyist's life that enables us to interpret various aspects of his written language.³⁷² Ried was from a South Tyrolean noble family that had its ancestral seat at Burg Ried on the Talbera. The Rieds had served as liegemen to the lords of Wangen since the first half of the thirteenth century.³⁷³ Hans Ried was probably born around 1465,³⁷⁴ and we may assume on the basis of a letter written by his widow in 1516 after his death, in which she reminds Maximilian how her husband had served him for more than thirty years,³⁷⁵ that Ried must have begun his chancery work some time before 1485. Wierschin infers from the statement that Hans Ried first served in the chancery of Maximilian's uncle, Sigmund of Tirol, where the young scribe and the young prince may both have been taught to write by Wernher Ried.³⁷⁶ In any event, Hans Ried does not appear to have begun to write for Maximilian until after the abdication of the Archduke in 1490.

The earliest surviving documentary references to Ried are from 1496 and 1498 and have to do with a payment to the scribe of two measures ("Schäffl") of salt.³⁷⁷ What services Ried had performed to earn this sum we do not know. In 1500 Ried was appointed tariff collector on the Adige near Bolzano, and his holograph to Maximilian underwriting this commission ([3]) is the first of two surviving diplomatic letters that can be attributed to him with certainty.³⁷⁸ This document, like the later letter, bears the Ried seal, a fact confirming the assumption that Hans belonged to this family of ministeriale.³⁷⁹ At the end of 1501 Florian Waldauf von Waldenstein³⁸⁰ was given permission to have Ried come from Bolzano to write two copies of the long deed of foundation for "die heylig Capellen vnser lieben frauen" that Waldauf and his wife were endowing at Hall near Innsbruck. Weinacht notes that Waldauf's letter is the first surviving reference to Ried's calligraphic talent.³⁸¹ Waldauf, who was

made a protonotary by Maximilian in 1488, had begun his own career in the chancery of Sigmund of Tirol.³⁸² His familiarity with Ried's penmanship supports the idea that the copyist probably first served as a scribe in Sigmund's chancery; it is likely that Waldauf knew him from that period, since Ried was not working in Maximilian's Innsbruck chancery at the time of Waldauf's request. Ried went to Innsbruck to copy the Stiftbrief but apparently returned to Bolzano afterward.³⁸³

At the time Maximilian first mentioned the Heldenbuch project in 1502, Ried was not the copyist of his choice. Only two years later did Ried become involved with the project; and, as Weinacht notes, he could not have given the work his undivided attention before 1507-08, when he ceased to supervise the customs collection on the Adige.³⁸⁴ Exactly how and where Ried spent the years between 1508 and 1511 has not yet been established. In February 1511 Paul von Liechtenstain wrote to the Council of the Raitkammer in Innsbruck about Ried, who was then instructing Liechtenstain's son in "Schreiberey" in that city. Liechtenstain wanted to know if the Council was about to give Ried another assignment and was informed that the Kammer intended to have him pen various "old Imperial patents and other letters, particularly those pertaining to Austria" ("alte kayserliche freyheitn vnnd annd brieve. Sonnderlich was gen Österreich gehört") that Maximilian wanted recopied. Nevertheless, Ried apparently returned to Bolzano sometime after February 1511 and spent the rest of the year there working on the Heldenbuch. He was instructed by the Raitkammer to be in Innsbruck by New Year's Day 1512, however, to begin copying the Urkunden.³⁸⁵

Although no trace of these copies or of other chancery documents either in Ried's hand or bearing his endorsement has been discovered for the period after 1511, Ried probably served in the Innsbruck chancery from 1512 to 1514. In March of 1514 he was given back his post as tariff collector on the Adige in recognition of the services he had rendered Maximilian in his chanceries ("so er vnns in vnns Canntzleyen gethan"), and because his eyesight was failing. He seems to have continued to discharge these duties and copy the

Heldenbuch texts in Bolzano until his death sometime before June of 1516.³⁸⁶

Hans Ried and his scribal production are significant in several respects for the present investigation. An approximate contemporary of Maximilian's and a native of the SB dialectal region, Ried, unlike Treytzsaurwein, seems to have received his initial scribal training or experience in the chancery of Sigmund of Tirol rather than that of Frederick III or Maximilian. This different initial exposure may or may not have colored his own scribal usage. As a chancery scribe, Ried never seems to have risen beyond the lowest levels of the middle tier of the three-part chancery hierarchy despite his calligraphic prowess. Although Waldauf, Liechtenstain, and Maximilian himself sought Ried out for particular writing jobs, he apparently never served in the chancery as anything more than a copyist, for to date no documents originating in the chancery have been discovered with any sort of visa by Hans Ried.³⁸⁷ This means that while he served in the chancery he did not share the final proofreading responsibilities of the secretaries.

Ried's holographs are of interest because they show how a scribe trained in the regional chancery tradition used cancelleysch in writing his own letters ([3]), in copying another contemporary legal document composed by a fellow Tyrolean ([4]), and in copying literary texts that may have represented various dialectal regions and different stages of the development of the German language ([14]-[16]). These last texts from the Ambraser Heldenbuch are particularly important. To date it has only been possible to speculate intelligently about the sources of the codex. Examining Ried's copies in terms of his own regular graphemic practices may suggest something about the orthographic patterns of his models.

Only four Ried holographs are currently known: the underwriting letters of 1500 and 1514 in which Ried accepts the position of tariff collector on the Adige; the Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief; and the monumental Ambraser Heldenbuch. All of these are fair copies. The following characterization of Ried's own orthography is based on his

first brief underwriting letter ([3]). Observations about the orthography he uses in the Stiftbrief are based on several extracts from that lengthy text ([4]).³⁸⁸ Observations about the orthography of the Heldenbuch are based on selections from three of the works contained in the codex; [14] is from a poem composed during the MHG Blütezeit; [15] and [16] are from poems composed later in the thirteenth century.³⁸⁹

The orthographic pattern of Hans Ried's first letter to Maximilian ([3]) conforms in almost every respect to Moser's characterization of the Habsburg chancery norm. In the majority of instances Ried writes e for the secondary umlaut of /a/ although he also uses the variant á in this environment (e.g., Järlisch). He uses both digraphic and monographic spellings for the MHG diphthongs /uo/ and /üe/, but the monographic spellings in this brief text occur only in forms of tün (MHG tuon) and zu (MHG zuo).³⁹⁰ Ried writes only the variant s of the grapheme <sch> initially before l, p, t, and w; the grapheme does not occur initially before m or n in this text. The opposition <ei> - <ai> in the text is complete except for a single occurrence of the form main (<MHG min>); the word is spelled mein- elsewhere in the letter. The only irregular neutralization indicated is ~ <w> in albeg; Treytsaurwein also writes this form occasionally, and Moser has also noted that this neutralization sometimes occurs in Habsburg chancery texts.³⁹¹

In the much longer Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief ([4]), which is presumably Ried's fair copy of a draft provided to him by Florian Waldauf, the orthographic pattern looks somewhat different, and the differences are probably not only to be attributed to the greater length of the deed of foundation. As in his own letter Ried usually writes the variant e for the secondary umlaut of /a/. In the Stiftbrief, however, he writes the variant é almost as frequently, and he uses the variants á and a in one or two isolated instances. In the Stiftbrief Ried writes both monographic and digraphic spellings for the MHG diphthongs /uo/ and /üe/; the digraphic spellings occur only slightly more frequently than the monographic ones. The opposition

<ei> - <ai> is complete except in the words geist- and heil-, in which the spellings ei and ai vary freely. The ei-spellings of these words occur more frequently than the forms in ai. Ried regularly writes the variant s of the grapheme <sch> initially before l, m, n, p, t, and w; abschneyde (but aufgesnitne) is the only exception to this pattern that occurs in the portion of the text examined.

Although the broad features of Ried's orthography in the Stiftbrief are certainly within the chancery norm, he does write several variants and neutralizations that Moser does not consider to be typical of the chancery graphemic system. These include:

(1) <e>: <u>é</u>	in <u>stét</u> ("steht," 3rd sg. pres. ind. of <u>stén</u>)
(2) <i> ~ <ie>	in <u>hawſwiert</u> , <u>Hiert</u> , <u>Liechter</u> ; <u>verdinstlich</u> , <u>dinst</u> , <u>dinstberkait</u>
(3) <é> ~ <e>	in <u>anherig</u> , <u>Gewenndlich</u>
(4) <o> ~ <é> ~ <e>	in <u>Kirchbrébst</u> , <u>kirchprébst</u> , <u>kirchprebst</u>
(5) <ei> ~ <i>	in <u>Driúaltigkait</u>
(6) <k>: <u>kh</u>	in <u>sterkh</u> , <u>merkhlich</u> , <u>dannkhperkait</u> , <u>volkh</u> ³⁹²

The differences between the Stiftbrief orthography and that of Ried's underwriting letter suggest that he has picked up some of the spellings from his SB model in [4] but has not found them to be sufficiently irregular to change them. Aside from the atypical variants and neutralizations listed, the Stiftbrief shows particularly strongly the Bavarian confusion of /b/ and /p/; many loan words in /p/ are spelled with b in this text.

Ried's literary texts from the Ambraser Heldenbuch raise several interesting questions. Because the sources of this remarkable codex have never been satisfactorily identified, it is tempting to try to work backward through the manuscript texts themselves to arrive at assumptions about the number, age, and dialects of their sources. The documentary evidence relating to the Heldenbuch project has not suggested how many models Ried used, how old they were, or where they originated.³⁹³ We do not know whether he worked from MHG manuscripts, for example, or from earliest NHG texts already featuring an orthography very similar to his own.

Thornton's 1962 investigation of Ried's scribal usage showed clearly that the entire Heldenbuch was written in the "Tiroler Schriftdialekt der Lutherzeit," but it failed to offer any information about the relationship of the scribe and his orthography to his sources. In his 1969 edition of the Kudrun, Franz Bäuml drew attention to the fact that Ried used two distinct forms of minuscule r in copying this Heldenbuch text. Bäuml described the first as a letter written basically in the Textura form but with a split vertical shaft and interpreted it as a preform of the later Kurrentschrift r. He called the second round or cursive form the "Arabic-2 type" of r ("Typ arabisch-2"), presumably because of its visual similarity to the numerical symbol.³⁹⁴ At more than a dozen places in the poem, Bäuml showed that Ried had mistakenly written s or z for r or r for s or z. In each case he posited that Ried had confused an "Arabic-2" r with one of the other minuscule forms.³⁹⁵ There are enough of these examples to support Bäuml's assumption that the manuscript source from which Ried copied did feature the Arabic-2 minuscule r. This single paleographic feature, however, does not bring us any closer even to the immediate source of the Kudrun. The so-called Arabic-2 minuscule r is a feature common to various scripts written in Germany from the High Middle Ages forward. It occurs in the Gothic book hands of Latin manuscripts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in the Cistercian script used in Latin manuscripts during the thirteenth century, and in the Textura scripts of both Latin and German vernacular manuscripts in the fourteenth century.³⁹⁶

Thus we have no concrete sense of the age of Ried's sources. We do not know, for example, whether it was Ried who in adapting MHG to an EUG Gemeindeutsch produced such false ENHG-MHG rhymes as reichen: gewaltigklichen ([14]), or whether he simply copied the work of an earlier adaptor. An exhaustive orthographic comparison of the Heldenbuch texts to each other and to Ried's diplomatic holographs may eventually help to answer these questions.

In [14], an excerpt from the Heldenbuch text of Hartmann's "Büchlein," Ried's orthography essentially matches both the chancery

norm and the graphemic pattern of his own underwriting letter ([3]). The only slight difference in usage is that he writes sch more frequently than s initially before l, m, n, p, t, and w in this text. There are no irregular neutralizations or variants in the selection examined. In [15], an excerpt from the Heldenbuch text of Herrant von Wildon's "Diu getrew Kone," Ried's orthography is in all respects within the chancery norm and very similar to the graphemic pattern of his own letter. In this text Ried writes both e and é with almost equal frequency to indicate the secondary umlaut of /a/, and he also uses é to indicate this environment; once he writes the é for an [e] that is not the result of umlauting. He uses the monographic u more frequently than ue to indicate the MHG diphthongs in this text, but both forms occur quite often. Since he writes the variant s before initial w but sch before initial m, there is no clear pattern of <sch>-spellings in the text. The opposition <ei> - <ai> is complete here as it is in [14]. In the passage from Helmbrecht ([16]), Ried's orthography is only slightly different from that of the preceding Heldenbuch texts. Here Ried uses á in the great majority of instances to mark the secondary umlaut of /a/; é is the second most frequent variant, and e is written only once to indicate this environment. The opposition <ei> - <ai> is complete. Monographic and digraphic spellings are written with equal frequency for the MHG diphthongs /uo/ and /üe/. Ried writes s initially before p, t, and w and sch before l. The only irregular neutralization that occurs in the text is <aau> ~ <u> in schrüt ("schaute," 3rd sg. pret. ind.).

In general terms the orthography of Ried's own letter ([3]) and that of his texts from the Ambraser Heldenbuch ([14]-[16]) match so closely that they can be called the same, and the orthography of the Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief ([4]) is very similar. The graphemic pattern of each text falls generally within the chancery norm defined by Moser. The few irregularities occurring in the Stiftbrief text suggest that Ried was influenced here by his written model.

If Ried's usage was affected even slightly by the Stiftbrief draft, it is curious that the literary sources of the Heldenbuch did

not color the orthography he wrote in the poems. There are two possible explanations for this. The first is the unlikely eventuality that all the poems Ried copied were already written in a fairly uniform Gemeindeutsch similar to his own. The second is that Ried took his various models, which presumably included some MHG texts, and wrote them with the same ENHG orthography he used in his own letter.

The relative orthographic uniformity of the Heldenbuch³⁹⁷ suggests that Ried himself must have been the orthographic adaptor of at least some of the poems it contains. The fact that the scribal usage in the Heldenbuch is closer to Ried's own than is the pattern of the Stiftbrief indicates that the orthography of the literary models was probably farther from Ried's written German than was the language of Waldauf's draft. The literary source texts probably varied so widely that Ried felt obliged to recast them in a uniform sort of written German. Ried not only copied the Heldenbuch texts, but he also seems to have homogenized them orthographically. In penning the fair copies of the Stiftbrief, on the other hand, Ried limited his work to copying the text; the language of the contemporary draft that Waldauf, his Tirolean countryman and fellow Kanzlist, supplied him was probably so similar to his own cancellaeysch that Ried felt no need to change it.

The minor variations in orthography from text to text within the Heldenbuch that are revealed by comparing [14]-[16] are insignificant. In order for these to be explained as reflections of the orthographic patterns of the sources, one would have to assume that Ried was in each case writing from a model already so like his own written German that he copied it essentially without orthographic alteration, as he did the Stiftbrief. This is most unlikely. The orthographic variation among individual poems in the Heldenbuch should be seen as gradual developments in Ried's own scribal usage over the several years in which he copied the texts for the codex.

Niclas Ziegler

Niclas Ziegler's orthography is of particular interest because of the acclaim it received from Johann Eck and has continued to enjoy in the histories of the German language. It is also significant for our study because it represents the scribal usage of a senior member of the chancery staff whose duties were for the most part administrative and political. The surviving evidence indicates that although Ziegler did actually pen texts in exceptional circumstances (when the issue treated was particularly sensitive or when the chancery or he himself was on the road, for example), his regular duties in the chancery were supervisory. Unlike Treytsaurwein and Ried, he seems to have become a secretary, and thus a proofreader and controller of the documents penned by lesser scribes, almost as soon as he entered Maximilian's service.

Christa Kohlweg's recent investigation of the Ziegler brothers in the service of Maximilian now provides considerable biographical information about the chancery secretary. Niclas Ziegler, the son of a Swabian draper who came to Nördlingen in 1471, was probably born between 1472 and 1475. By 1493 he was already in Maximilian's chancery. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Ziegler's youth, and to date it has been impossible to establish whether or not he attended a university.³⁹⁸ For this reason one can only speculate about where he may have received his scribal training. A comparison of Ziegler's career in the chancery to those of Treytsaurwein and Ried, however, suggests that Ziegler was probably not one of the scribes who acquired their training in Maximilian's entourage. He probably came to the chancery already knowing how to write exceptionally well, because by 1493, when he was perhaps not quite twenty, he was already being used by Maximilian as a diplomat and was receiving significant considerations from the Emperor for services rendered. This is certainly a different pattern from that of Treytsaurwein, who served Maximilian all his life but did not begin to receive Imperial gifts or to gain the rights of a chancery secretary until he was middle-aged. Thus,

we can deduce that Ziegler probably learned his cancelleyesch outside of Maximilian's chancery but that the variety of German he wrote was considered to be perfectly acceptable in the Hofkanzlei.

The earliest documentary evidence of Ziegler's activities in the Habsburg chancery is from 1493. In a letter to the Mayor and Town Council of Nördlingen, Maximilian asks that a public office be bestowed on Ziegler's brother-in-law in recognition of the services his chancery secretary, Niclas Ziegler, is performing in the Hofkanzlei. At the end of that year Ziegler was sent to Groningen to negotiate a settlement for the Emperor between that city and the Ostergo. Over the next four years Ziegler's status in the Chancery continued to increase; he received various fiefs and other tokens of the Emperor's appreciation, and in the Hofordnung of 1498 he was named Secretary to the Hofrat (see chapter 2). Between 1498 and 1500, Ziegler's position at Court became stronger and he spent much time in the immediate proximity of the Emperor, traveling with him and reporting back to the main chancery at Innsbruck. In the summer of 1500 Ziegler assumed the functions of the Senior Secretary (Oberster Sekretär) and became second only to Serntein in the chancery hierarchy. Contrary to the statements by Kluge and subsequent historians of the German language, Niclas Ziegler never rose above this office during Maximilian's lifetime. Nevertheless, the influence Ziegler wielded from his post as Secretary for the next two decades is a matter of record.³⁹⁹

As a result of his efforts to help Maximilian's grandson Charles secure the Imperial throne, a campaign that began at the 1518 Diet of Augsburg and continued into the next year, Ziegler became Vice Chancellor of the Empire.⁴⁰⁰ Although he was active in this office for only about a year, that year coincided with the memorable 1521 Diet of Worms and was undoubtedly the high point of Ziegler's career. It is also the only point at which it is possible to make any connection between Ziegler and Eck that might account for the reference in the Ingolstadt Bible. Although Ziegler did not resign his office

until the year before his death in 1526, he left Court and gave up his active chancery service in 1522.⁴⁰¹

As I have stated in detail elsewhere, Eck and Ziegler appear never to have met or to have corresponded with each other, and it is probable that Eck, who was about ten years younger than Ziegler, never saw a holographic document by Maximilian's secretary. The most likely basis for Eck's assessment of Ziegler's orthography is the text of the 1521 Edict of Worms and the Publikationsmandat with which it was circulated throughout German-speaking Europe. Due to a series of coincidences, Niclas Ziegler himself translated the Edict from Latin into German in a single night in the spring of 1521. Printed versions of this text were distributed throughout the Empire along with the brief mandate of publication, which bore Ziegler's handwritten signature. Eck, who did not attend the Diet but was active as a papal nuncio and inquisitor in the cause against Luther in Germany, was in correspondence with Girolamo Aleander, the papal representative to the Diet, and would have been aware of Ziegler's role both in the drafting of the earlier Dezembermandat and in the translation of the Edict itself.⁴⁰²

It is unclear what Eck found to be so distinctive about Ziegler's orthography that he cited it publicly ten years after the Vice Chancellor's death. It is also curious that he praises Ziegler's orthography, which he could only have known from printed documents, in the same Vorrede in which he disparages the printers who have not preserved his own orthography. Eck's praise of Ziegler is probably to be explained politically. The Ingolstadt Bible is dedicated to Matthäus Lang, who had been an eminent member of Maximilian's chancery and who had in 1517 been commissioned along with Eck and Konrad Peutinger by the Emperor to confer about a plan for a popular discussion of theological doctrine;⁴⁰³ by 1536 Lang had become the Archbishop of Salzburg. Eck probably sought to curry favor with this powerful prince of the Church, and his remarks about Ziegler's orthography should be seen in this light.⁴⁰⁴

Whether or not Ziegler's orthography deserves the particular attention it has received, it is of interest for the present investigation for several reasons: it represents the scribal usage of a chancery member from the highest tier of the staff hierarchy, it features the orthography of a secretary originally from the Swabian rather than the SB dialectal region, and it is probably a second example of the cancellleysch written by a scribe who was not trained in the Habsburg chancery itself. Ziegler's case also brings us back to a question raised in chapter 1 by Fabian Frangk's Orthographia: how and in what form did Maximilian's chancery language acquire its contemporary reputation? It seems that Eck's assessment of Ziegler's German is based on printed samples of his writing. If this is correct, then Ziegler's German should be characterized according to the printed texts of the Publikationsmandat and the official edition of the 1521 Edict of Worms.⁴⁰⁵ Before considering this possibility further, however, let us examine the scribal usage of Ziegler's holographic production and see how it compares with that of Treytzsaurwein and Ried.

To date, with the assistance of the Wiesflecker regesta and Hans Moser's study, I have discovered a total of ten Ziegler holographs.⁴⁰⁶ The four of these that are included in the manuscript sample are the basis of the present characterization of Ziegler's scribal usage; of these, [1], [2], and [5] are drafts, and [10] is a fair copy. Because these are all rather brief diplomatic texts and feature what is essentially the same orthographic pattern, they are considered together.

Ziegler's orthography, different from Ried's and Treytzsaurwein's, shows the unidirectional opposition <ei> ← <ai> rather than the full opposition of these graphemes. Ziegler regularly writes e for the secondary umlaut of /a/, once writes a marked e in this environment, and never uses the a-variants of this grapheme. He writes the monographic u for the MHG diphthongs /uo/ and /üe/ with only one exception in these texts, and s for <sch> initially before w and n. Ziegler's orthography shows only two minor neutralizations

that are irregular according to Moser's characterization of the Habsburg chancery norm:

(1) <a> ~ <o> in Morggraf ([2])
 (2) <ei> ~ <i> in by, fryburg, fritag ([2]);
Braunswig ([10])

Ziegler's orthography, like that of Ried and Treytzsaurwein, falls easily within the limits of Moser's general definition of the chancery norm. It is a little different, however, from the patterns of the two SB scribes. In continuing to write ei occasionally for the MHG diphthong /ei/, i for MHG /i/ (though for the most part only in proper nouns), e for the secondary umlaut of /a/, and u for the MHG diphthongs /uo/ and /üe/, Ziegler produces what seems a conservative version of the Habsburg chancery orthography, although he was at least ten years younger than Ried and perhaps as much as twenty-five years younger than Treytzsaurwein. His holographs do not show any of the developmental trends that Moser observed in his comparison of documents from the end of Maximilian's reign with those from around 1490. The pattern of Ziegler's orthography matches that of the documents in Moser's first syngraphic analysis, and it does not appear to undergo any significant change during his years of service in the chancery.

Like Treytzsaurwein, Ziegler endorsed a number of chancery documents that he did not copy himself. An examination of six of these shows that they all conform unusually closely to the chancery norm but do not match Ziegler's own scribal usage in every respect.⁴⁰⁷ The variants e for the secondary umlaut of /a/ and u for the MHG u-diphthongs are predominant in all these texts, but about half of them show the complete opposition <ei> - <ai>. This reaffirms the assumption that chancery controls were primarily for content and not for rigid orthographic conformity.

In comparing the scribal usage of Ziegler's holographs to the orthography of the first edition of the Edict of Worms and its Publikationsmandat, one aspect of the typography of the printed texts

must be taken into account. In both imprints three distinct vocalic markers are used with considerable regularity: a diaeresis symbol is used to mark the umlauted forms of MHG /u/ and /uo/ (e.g., Künigen, fürstenthüb, Bücher) and also to mark the diphthong ü (e.g., Deütschen, Durchleütigē); e is printed as a superscript to indicate the umlauting of MHG /a/, /o/, and /uo/ (e.g., Bäbst, Götlich, Bücher); and in accordance with contemporary sixteenth-century German typographic conventions o is used to mark u where u represents the ENHG reflex of MHG /uo/ (e.g., ersücht, Auffrür, gütten).⁴⁰⁸ This pattern of vocalic marking in the printed texts presents the umlauting of MHG /u/ and /uo/ fairly clearly, and it also distinguishes between the unumlauted ENHG reflexes of these two phonemes.⁴⁰⁹ The distinctive typographic marking of the monographic u gives it a relatively unambiguous meaning in the printed texts that it does not have in the handwritten chancery texts featuring the u-hook. This orthographic clarity may have appealed to Eck, although there is nothing particularly distinctive about it.

Aside from the different implication of the vocalic markers in the printed and handwritten texts, the orthographic pattern of the Publikationsmandat looks very much like that of Ziegler's holographs. It features the unidirectional opposition <ei> ↔ <ai> and the exclusive use of the variants e and u for <é> and <ue> respectively, and it shows no irregular variants or neutralizations. Although the orthography of the longer Edict also conforms to the scribal norm of Maximilian's chancery in most respects, it is much less regular than that of the Mandate or of Ziegler's holographs. Like that of Ziegler's holographs, the orthography of the Edict features e and u as the dominant variants of <é> and <ue>; but it also shows forms in which the secondary umlaut of /a/ is spelled a, ä, or å, and forms in which the MHG diphthong is spelled ue or üe. The variants s and sch of <sch> occur with almost equal frequency initially before l, m, n, and w. The opposition of <ei> and <ai> is incomplete in the Edict, and the printed text shows a more arbitrary distribution of ai- and

ei-spellings of MHG /ei/ than do Ziegler's holographs. Ziegler tends to write ai for MHG /ei/ and ei for MHG /I/.⁴¹⁰

The text of the Edict also shows the following irregular neutralizations and variants (these are isolated occurrences and are limited to related forms of the specific words in which they occur):

- (1) <ei> ~ <i> in abzuschnyden
- (2) <ue>: ie in betriegen
- (3) : bp in Babpst
- (4) <ch>: g in negst ("nächst")
- (5) <d> ~ <t> in außdilgung, verdilit, etc.; vndertruckung, Buchtrucker, vnderdruckung, Druck; notturft
- (6) <f>: ff morpheme-initially in gefallen
- (7) <f>: vh in vheyndtschrifften, vheinde

Both the holographic and printed versions of Ziegler's orthography conform in most respects to Moser's definition of the Habsburg chancery norm. Ziegler's own scribal usage more closely resembles the graphemic pattern of chancery documents from the early years of Maximilian's reign than it does that of documents from the closing years. Ziegler's own orthography may be interpreted as either slightly more archaic or as slightly less Bavarian (or both) than the orthographies of Treytsaurwein and Ried. The orthography of the Edict does not match Ziegler's, but neither does it fall outside the loosely defined chancery norm. It resembles Ziegler's usage in several respects, including the incomplete opposition of <ei> and <ai>, but the occurrence of the variants ue and é (a) for <ue> and <é> respectively make the orthography appear somewhat more modern and more Bavarian than Ziegler's own.

Summary

The scribal habits of Treytsaurwein, Ried, and Ziegler offer answers to some of the questions raised by the histories of the German language about the way Maximilian's staff viewed the administrative German it wrote; they raise new questions about the basis of the sixteenth-century reputation of the chancery language; and they show

clearly the extent to which Moser's characterization of the written language generalizes its orthographic features. The manuscript production of these scribes not only indicates that the Habsburg chancery staff acknowledged an orthographic norm, but it also suggests how much leeway was permitted within this convention.

The fact that Treytzsaurwein and Ziegler both endorsed chancery documents with orthographies that do not match their own indicates that the scribes themselves found a limited amount of variation in the written language acceptable and that they did not insist on a rigid standardized orthography in the sense of modern German Rechtschreibung. This practice of chancery endorsement reflects the same attitude toward document control that Moser observed in the case of register entries. The entries may differ orthographically from the drafts and fair copies on which they are based, but, once again, the supervisory scribe approves the content of the document without objecting to the orthography, even though it may not be altogether like his own.

The manuscript production of Hans Ried shows further that Maximilian's scribes sometimes recast their models in their own orthographies and sometimes worked in the manner of modern diplomatic copyists, reproducing the text of the original more or less letter by letter. Ried's manuscripts suggest that he did both and that the choice of copying technique depended on the language of the model. In the case of the Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief, Ried, working from a written text, wrote an orthography slightly different from his own and from that of the Habsburg chancery as characterized by Moser. This suggests that he copied the text as he found it and saw no need to adjust the orthography. On the other hand, the orthography of the Ambraser Heldenbuch is essentially Ried's own. Here he apparently found the orthographic patterns of his literary models to be so far from the acceptable standard that he changed them all to the version of the norm that he wrote. The slightly different orthographies of Ried's various holographs indicate that there were limits to the orthographic flexibility that Maximilian's scribes accepted: Waldauf's draft fell within them; the literary texts did not. In the

absence of the Heldenbuch source texts, however, we can only assume that these models featured orthographies Ried perceived to be either too archaic (MHG) or too different dialectally.

We may assume, on the basis of Ried's holographs and of the nearly four hundred chancery documents Moser examined to produce his characterization of the written language, that there was an acknowledged orthographic norm in Maximilian's chancery. But it is difficult to say how chancery personnel perceived and observed this standard, or how orthographic variations within the chancery or within the manuscript production of a single scribe should be interpreted in terms of this norm. As we have seen above, even the orthographies of Treytsaurwein, Ried, and Ziegler do not match the chancery norm in every respect unless one invokes Moser's rule that allows individual scribes to write irregular forms within the chancery norm, a provision that to a certain extent vitiates his general definition.⁴¹¹

Treytsaurwein's orthography should be considered the quint-essential example of the Habsburg chancery usage because he was trained in the chancery and was from the outset responsible to Maximilian himself. That the younger Ziegler came into the chancery writing a slightly different orthography and did not alter it during his period of service indicates that the variety of cancelleysch Treytsaurwein learned in the chancery was not the only acceptable one (as Ried's copy of the Stiftbrief also confirms) and that scribes trained elsewhere were not required to retrain in order to serve in the chancery. This means that if Maximilian's chancery was in any sense a scribal school, its orthographic prescriptions were quite loose and its orthography similar to that produced in other contemporary EUG chanceries. Treytsaurwein's and Ried's orthographies are, after all, essentially the same.

Moser has suggested that the geographic origin of individual scribes is irrelevant in accounting for their scribal usage.⁴¹² This assumption may not be altogether correct. The chancery production as a whole has a rather predictable orthography that should be called regional rather than specifically dialectal. Slight differences

between the personal orthographies of individual scribes within the norm, however, may perhaps be explained in terms of the scribes' geographic origins. If one compares the orthographies of Treytsaurwein and Ziegler, for example, one might describe Treytsaurwein's orthography as more modern because it more closely resembles the chancery usage from the end of Maximilian's reign, and Ziegler's as more conservative because it approximates the chancery usage from the beginning of the reign. On the other hand, Treytsaurwein may distinguish more completely between *<ei>* and *<ai>* than Ziegler and prefer the digraphic spellings of MHG */uo/* and */üe/* to the *u* that Ziegler writes because the phonological distinctions these spellings imply are more pronounced in his native SB than they are in the Swabian of Ziegler's native region (see "Hans Moser's Heterographic Analyses" below).

These case studies also clarify the extent to which the south-eastern Gemeindeutsch was developed into a literary language in the Habsburg chancery. Maximilian's scribes were involved both with his literary copying projects and with the composition of the various parts of his autobiography. There is no indication, however, that they were concerned with the development of a belletristic medium in the sense that the Sprachgesellschaften were a little more than a century later. Although it is fairly certain that Hans Ried transcribed the models for the Ambraser Heldenbuch in his own chancery orthography, the uneven literary tone of the texts preserved in the codex suggests that he did little or no editorial revision of the poems. Treytsaurwein's work on the Theuerdank and Weißenkunig projects was qualitatively different. He was involved with the composition of new works of literature and worked from contemporary written drafts and outlines dictated by Maximilian himself. The excerpts of the Theuerdank drafts included above, however, show that Treytsaurwein's creative skills were limited and that his editorial concerns had to do primarily with the content of his texts. They do not attest to any general stylistic interests, nor do they indicate an attempt to develop the language of the chancery into a medium for *belles lettres*.

In order to posit that German was transformed into a "literary instrument" in Maximilian's chancery, one must define that term as "written language" or "writing system," as the Soviet and French scholars who work on such subjects often do.⁴¹³ To the extent that Maximilian's chancery language featured an efficient and somewhat distinctive orthographic system, it might be considered an important developmental stage in the evolution of the modern German written language. Maximilian's chancery did not, however, contribute significantly to the development of German as a belletristic medium. This explanation makes further investigation of the chancery language as a national language, an "Einheitssprache," or a standard language unnecessary.

The case of Niclas Ziegler and Johann Eck raises new questions about how Maximilian's chancery language came to enjoy its sixteenth-century reputation and about the form in which its proponents knew it. There is no doubt that the written dialect was considered to be worthy of emulation in its own time. For various reasons (see "The Chancery Languages of Maximilian I and Frederick the Wise" below) it was probably more popular even than the few surviving references to it suggest. To date scholars concerned with the Habsburg chancery language have emphasized the manuscript production of the chancery system, assuming correctly that any agency as prolific and politically significant as Maximilian's chancery, which produced close to a hundred thousand documents during his reign,⁴¹⁴ must have had an impact on other contemporary administrative writing. Eck's reference to Ziegler and Frangk's references to the imprints of Johann Schönsperger as well as to the writings of Maximilian's chancery indicate, however, that the chancery language was also admired in its printed form. Maximilian used the printing press not only to produce his autobiographical Theuerdank and other literary projects, but also to publish various political proclamations as well as the proceedings of the Imperial Diets.⁴¹⁵ These publications must also have contributed to the contemporary reputation of the chancery language.

As Eck's disparaging remarks in the Vorrede to his Bible indicate, sixteenth-century German printers often changed the orthography of the original when they set a text in type. Although we no longer have the manuscript drafts of the 1521 Edict of Worms and its Publikationsmandat, we may assume with fair certainty that both were written in German originally by Ziegler.⁴¹⁶ Thus the orthography should match that of Ziegler's holographs if it has not been altered by the printers. The Mandate features an orthography that is essentially Ziegler's; the orthography of the Edict is similar to Ziegler's but not the same. This means that the typesetters made changes, and that some of the contemporary statements about the chancery language are based at least in part (Eck's statement, for example) on altered printed versions of the writing system—versions featuring orthographic variants and neutralizations beyond those identified by Moser, and characterized by a system of vocalic marking less ambiguous than those used in contemporary chancery scripts.

HANS MOSER'S HETEROGRAPHIC ANALYSES

To understand what Luther meant when he claimed that the chanceries of Frederick the Wise and Maximilian I wrote the same kind of German, we must consider in general terms how closely the orthographies of the Wettin and Habsburg chanceries resembled each other at the beginning of the sixteenth century and how typical each was of the contemporary German written in its own region. The extralinguistic material examined in chapter 1 indicates that Maximilian's chancery language enjoyed a certain prestige among literati from various parts of Germany in the early sixteenth century. Comparison of the Habsburg chancery norm with various contemporary German orthographic systems may suggest whether the supraregional reputation of Maximilian's chancery language reflects an actual influence that it may have exerted on the German written outside the EUG area.

In his heterographic analyses, Hans Moser undertook such a survey by adapting data from existing investigations of related German written languages to his graphemic method and comparing them with his

characterization of the Habsburg chancery norm. Although the degree to which Moser was able to adapt this material was in some cases limited by the investigative orientations of the other studies, his results are sufficiently detailed to provide an excellent basis for evaluating some of the assertions put forward by the histories of the German language about the significance of the Habsburg chancery dialect. Moser compared his findings with the orthographic patterns of two MG chancery languages, that of the Dresden chancery as represented by the city scribe, Michael Weiße, who wrote during the mid-sixteenth century,⁴¹⁷ and that of the Saxon Electoral chancery between 1486 and 1546.⁴¹⁸ He also compared the Habsburg chancery norm with the orthographies of two versions of the same non-chancery text, the Regula bullata;⁴¹⁹ the first of these is a Bavarian translation from around 1486, the product of a single scribe; the second is an EMG translation dated 1496.⁴²⁰

The Upper German Written Languages

Moser's graphemic comparison of the vocalic and consonantal systems of Maximilian's chancery language with those of the Bavarian Regula shows them to be the same in almost every respect. The only significant difference between the vocalic patterns is the absence of the umlaut graphemes (<é>, <á>, <ó>) in the Bavarian text. Moser explains this as a scribal idiosyncrasy and reminds the reader that the option not to mark umlaut environments also existed within the Habsburg chancery norm.⁴²¹ The absence of umlaut graphemes from the Regula text means that the secondary umlaut of /a/ normally appears as e here; e is also the most frequent variant of <é> in the Habsburg chancery texts from the beginning of Maximilian's reign. The e-spelling of the umlaut was also typical of Frederick III's chancery language, and of the MG and Nuremberg scribal traditions as well.⁴²² Moser indicates that ee did not have graphemic status in the Regula text, but this is an insignificant difference as the form is only weakly attested in Habsburg chancery texts, and its graphemic status there is debatable. The consonantal systems of the two EUG written

languages are almost identical. Moser proposes that the only significant difference between the two is the intervocalic opposition <h> - <ch> that is beginning to emerge in the Habsburg language but is not evident in the Regula text.⁴²³

In some respects Moser's comparison of these two graphemic systems is problematic because he does not consider the neutralizations and variants in the case of the Bavarian Regula to the extent that he does in his syngraphic analysis of Maximilian's chancery language and in his comparison of the Habsburg language with the EMG usage (see "The Middle German Written Languages" below). This limited treatment gives the impression that the German of the Regula is farther removed from certain Bavarian dialects than is actually the case. Like Treytsaurwein's written German, the text does feature the neutralizations <a> ~ <o> and ~ <w> that Moser considers to be dialectal and atypical of the chancery usage. The neutralizations are minority forms in the texts in which they occur, but they should be taken into account as one reads that both the languages of Maximilian's chancery and of the Regula are "mundartfern."⁴²⁴

In an additional brief comparison of the Habsburg chancery norm with a Swabian version of the Regula bullata, Moser notes that the vocalism of this text matches that of the Bavarian translation, except that the former shows the unidirectional rather than the complete opposition of <ei> and <ai>.⁴²⁵ The Swabian vocalism, then, matches that of the chancery language from the beginning of Maximilian's reign, and it approximates that of Niclas Ziegler.

The Middle German Written Languages

Whereas the orthographies of the Bavarian and Swabian Regula bullata manuscripts are close to the Habsburg chancery norm, the EMG version of this non-chancery text manifests an orthographic system substantially different from the systems of the EMG chancery languages (both that of Michael Weiße and of the Saxon Electoral chancery). The difference is most striking in the vocalism of the EMG orthographies. The chancery writing systems show the NHG diphthongs <ei>, <ew>, and

<aw> as the dominant reflexes of MHG /I/, /iu/, /öu/, /ü/, and /ou/.⁴²⁶ The EMG Regula bullata, which was written within the period covered by Gerhard Kettmann's sample texts from the Saxon Electoral chancery, shows the older MHG forms <i>, <u>, <ö>, and <ou>. Both of the EMG chancery languages show the unidirectional opposition <ei> + <ai>, whereas the non-chancery text shows no ai-variants of MHG /ei/ whatsoever.⁴²⁷ This particular distinction, however, should be understood in terms of the chronological development of the vocalic systems of these EMG languages. The vocalism of the Regula is the most archaic of the three; since it does not yet show the NHG diphthong /ei/ < MHG /I/, there is no confusion between the MHG and NHG ei-diphthongs. Both of the other orthographies show all three NHG diphthongs. As the new ei-forms increase in frequency in the written language, so do the ai-spellings of the MHG diphthong. This can be seen most clearly in the Electoral orthography. The steady increase of the new ei-spellings of MHG /I/ in EMG chancery texts after 1500 is followed by a marked upswing in the number of ai-spellings of MHG /ei/ after 1520.⁴²⁸

Another distinctive feature of these EMG chancery languages is their tendency to distinguish vocalic length. In the Electoral language and in Weiße's orthography h is used and e may be used as a sign of lengthening after vowels: the graphic sequences ie and ee indicate long vowels in both systems; and in the Electoral language e written after a and o may signal lengthening as well.⁴²⁹ Umlauting, on the other hand, is only weakly indicated in these three EMG orthographies. In each the secondary umlaut of /a/ is spelled e. The umlauting of /o/ is weakly indicated in the Regula text by the marked letter ö but is not indicated in either of the chancery orthographies.⁴³⁰ In Weiße's orthography the unidirectional neutralization <u> + <ue> represents an opposition between the reflexes of MHG monophthongal and diphthongal forms that may or may not also feature umlauting⁴³¹ (this is the same sort of opposition that Moser found in the Habsburg chancery norm);⁴³² but in the EMG Regula bullata and in the Electoral chancery language the patterns of u-marking (u vs. ü, ö, etc.) and

u-spellings (u vs. ue) are more ambiguous and cannot be considered to show the regular tendency to indicate umlauting.⁴³³

The consonantal systems of the three EMG orthographies that Moser compared are quite similar to each other. In most respects they also resemble the UG orthographies just examined. All three of the EMG writing systems feature a complete opposition between b and p, although the sample texts for each show a number of forms in which p is written initially for b. In the Dresden chancery language and the EMG Regula these p-spellings can for the most part be explained as loan words.⁴³⁴ The opposition b - p in these orthographies is the single consonantal feature that distinguishes them most clearly from contemporary UG writing systems. Michael Weiße's chancery German features three geminate graphemes that do not have graphemic status in either of the other EMG or in the UG orthographies examined: bb, spelled pp in the texts; dd; and mm.⁴³⁵ Weiße writes these double forms regularly to indicate a preceding short vowel. This practice is a logical extension of the tendency to indicate vocalic length that is evident in the EMG vowel systems examined. Only Maximilian's chancery language and the Wettin orthography feature the grapheme ff as a reflex of Gmc. /p/; in the Habsburg language it also appears to signal a preceding short vowel, but in the Electoral chancery language, curiously enough, it does not.⁴³⁶

Beyond these differences in the total number of graphemes that the individual EMG and UG consonantal systems contain, there are minor but distinctive differences in the ways that the writing systems regularly represent particular graphemes. In the Dresden and Electoral chancery languages, as in the orthography of the Bavarian Regula, the labial affricate is pf; in the Habsburg chancery language and the EMG Regula, it is ph. The dental affricate is z in the Habsburg and Electoral chancery languages, zc in Michael Weiße's orthography, and cz in the Bavarian and EMG Regula texts.⁴³⁷

Neutralizations and Variants

A comparison of certain neutralizations and variants that are restricted to specific words or positions provides additional bases for comparing the individual EMG and UG written languages.

Maximilian's chancery language features a number of regular neutralizations between u and o, the most significant one occurring before nasals (see "Graphemic Neutralization" above). Moser notes that the indigenous UG spellings show u in this environment; whereas o-spellings occur relatively early in Swabia, the only scriptorium to write these forms in the Bavarian region during the second half of the fifteenth century was the Imperial chancery. Noordijk also observed that these MG forms in o occurred with greater frequency in Frederick III's chancery than in the Bohemian chancery of Emperor Sigmund. Maximilian's chancery continues this MG practice. The Habsburg orthography in this feature matches that of the Wettin chancery, which regularly writes o before nasals.⁴³⁸

In the early years of Frederick III's reign, the Habsburg chancery scribes often neutralized the opposition d - t after l, a practice seen also in the contemporary written languages of Vienna and of the Austrian ducal chanceries. Maximilian's chancery language did not preserve this feature of the inherited writing system, but instead wrote the typically UG -lt-. The EMG writing systems considered above, however, all feature the neutralization, but to different degrees: in the orthography of the EMG Regula the typically MG variant -ld- dominates; in Michael Weiß'e's writing system the UG -lt- dominates; and in the manuscripts from the Wettin chancery -lt- occurs most frequently. The UG -lt--spelling became regular in the Electoral chancery earlier than it did in other MG writing systems that adopted it.⁴³⁹

Neutralization of the opposition d - t after n medially in the EMG and UG written languages shows a somewhat different pattern. Aside from a few exceptional forms such as unter and hinter, Maximilian's chancery scribes regularly maintain the opposition in this

environment and write the NHG -nd- (or the neutralization variant -ndt-), which was atypical of the Bavarian region at this time. Of the EMG writing systems examined, only the orthography of the Regula shows this opposition to be essentially intact; here the typical MG spellings in -nd- occur almost without exception. Both of the EMG chancery languages show the neutralization of this opposition in medial and in absolute final position. Moser interprets these t- spellings in the MG chancery languages as a southern influence and as evidence of the elevated stylistic level of the written
 440 languages.

The treatment of certain graphemic variants is also distinctive in the EMG and UG written languages. Toward the end of Maximilian's reign the variants gkh, gkch, kh, ckh, and kch of the grapheme <k> occur more frequently in Habsburg chancery texts, although they remain minority forms. These h-variants are typically Bavarian and do not occur regularly in the written languages of other regions. Moser suggests that where these forms occur, particularly in initial position, outside the Bavarian region, they might be interpreted as evidence of the influence of the Imperial Chancery. Except in the word Churfurst, these h-variants do not come into the Electoral chancery language until after 1520. Moser maintains that the pattern of variants written in the Habsburg chancery for the grapheme <ph> is also distinctive. He indicates that whereas pf had become the dominant spelling in the Wettin chancery after 1440 and had been gaining ground in Swabia and Bavaria since the early fifteenth century, ph-spellings were regular in the Habsburg chancery language throughout Maximilian's reign, and pf-variants were in the minority; the variants pff and pff typical of pf-regions are not supposed to have occurred in Maximilian's chancery at all.⁴⁴¹ This is not altogether accurate. Treytsaurwein himself, the most Habsburg of the Habsburg scribes, wrote these variants. Nevertheless, Moser's observation is generally correct. The ph-spellings that dominate in Maximilian's chancery language are an anachronism and distinguish the Habsburg writing system from other contemporary UG and EMG orthographies.

Taken together, the EMG writing systems considered here differ from the UG ones primarily in their regular indication of vocalic length, their failure to indicate umlauting, and their maintenance of the opposition b - p. Of these EMG orthographies, the chancery languages show all three NHG diphthongs, whereas the non-chancery Regula text maintains the MHG vocalism. In this most significant respect, the EMG chancery languages are more modern and more similar to the UG writing systems than the orthography of the EMG Regula is. This feature in itself is a legitimate basis for the conclusion that the language of the Saxon Electoral chancery at the beginning of the sixteenth century was easier to distinguish from other EMG orthographies than Maximilian's chancery language was from other varieties of UG Gemeindeutsch.

The Chancery Languages of Maximilian I and Frederick the Wise

Having seen how the Habsburg and Wettin chancery languages relate to the scribal traditions of their respective regions, let us consider briefly how the two orthographic systems that Luther cited compare with each other. As Moser has shown, several of the distinctive features shared by these writing systems emerged first in the chancery of Maximilian and then developed ten or fifteen years later in the Electoral chancery,⁴⁴² so that the Wettin chancery orthography of 1520 is closer to the Habsburg usage of 1495 than to the general usage of Maximilian's chancery in 1519. This staggered development, however, need not particularly concern us here, where we are interested in comparing the general similarities of the two systems not only from a modern descriptive point of view, but also as Luther and his contemporaries would have seen them.

The sequential development that Moser identified is, of course, defined graphemically. In certain respects, however, the surface patterns of the neutralizations and variants shown by documents written in the two chancery orthographies remain more similar to each other than do the actual graphemic systems of the two languages. In graphemic terms, for example, the Habsburg chancery language lacks a

distinctive grapheme p, whereas the Wettin chancery maintains the opposition b - p throughout the entire period covered by Moser's and Kettmann's studies. Both languages, however, show many instances of p for b initially in both loanwords and non-loanwords. A literate sixteenth-century observer would probably have noted this superficial similarity, but he would not have perceived a basic (graphemic) difference in the patterns of p- and b-spellings in the two chancery languages. Contemporary assessments of the chancery usages will have been based on the actual pattern of variants occurring in the texts, not on the graphemic systems they implied; and the surface appearance of these orthographies was quite similar between 1495 and 1530. For these reasons we will generalize the staggered graphemic development of the two writing systems and compare their surface features at the points within this time span at which they are most similar.

Vocalism

In many respects the vocalism of the Wettin and of the Habsburg chancery orthographies is quite alike. Both systems feature all three MHG diphthongs. In the Habsburg language all are present at the beginning of the period under investigation; in the Wettin language MHG <i> > <ei> shortly before 1500, and as the new diphthong increases in frequency in the documents, so does the occurrence of <ai> < MHG <ei>. In Maximilian's chancery language the relationship of <ei> to <ai> begins as a unidirectional opposition and gradually develops into a full opposition. In the Saxon language the opposition of the two graphemes remains unidirectional. From a contemporary point of view, the pattern of ei- and ai-spellings in the two orthographies would probably have been seen as a matching feature and the ai-spellings considered southern, although their clarifying function in the MG written language makes their occurrence as logical there as it is in UG orthographies.

Although we have noted that the Wettin orthography tends not to mark umlaut environments and the Habsburg usage does, this distinction too is sharper in a graphemic analysis than in a comparison of

the surface features of the writing systems. Although the Habsburg orthography does develop distinctive graphemes toward the end of Maximilian's reign to indicate the secondary umlauting of /a/, the unmarked e is the variant Habsburg scribes write most frequently in this environment throughout Maximilian's reign; this is also the form written regularly by the Wettin scribes. The distinctive Habsburg umlaut graphs that do not occur in the Saxon orthography are the marked vowels á, é, and ó; these are minority forms. The umlauting of /ó/ is not indicated orthographically in the Wettin writing system;⁴⁴³ in the Habsburg chancery language it occurs as the unidirectional opposition <o> + <ó>, the marked vowel representing the umlauted form.

The MG tendency to indicate vocalic length orthographically produces some spellings that distinguish the Saxon writing system clearly from Maximilian's. The digraphs ae and oe do not occur in the Habsburg chancery language, nor do the combinations of vowel + h where h functions as a sign of lengthening. These spellings are typical of the Electoral chancery language.⁴⁴⁴ Moser notes that in the Saxon writing system <i> represents the short and <ie> the long monophthongal vowel; in the Austrian chancery language <i> - <ie> continues the opposition between the MHG monophthong /i/ and the MHG diphthong /ie/.⁴⁴⁵ This is another valid modern linguistic distinction between the two systems that may not have been so apparent to the contemporary writers of the orthographies.⁴⁴⁶ The problem of vocalic length was only beginning to be addressed by contemporary grammarians, and even those who came from regions where the writing systems tended to distinguish between long and short vowels had difficulty explaining the inconsistent notational conventions that were used to reflect lengthening.⁴⁴⁷ Thus the distribution of i and ie in the two orthographies would probably have seemed much the same to many sixteenth-century readers, and only the spellings ae, oe, and vowel + h would have seemed to be distinctive vocalic indicators of the Electoral chancery language.

In the Habsburg and Electoral writing systems, as in most of the ENHG orthographies, u and ue and their diversely marked variants represent a special case. In Maximilian's chancery language the opposition u + ue is essentially a monophthongal-diphthongal distinction, as Moser presents it.⁴⁴⁸ He is unable to isolate independent umlaut graphemes for the two phonemes /ü/ and /üe/ because of the highly contradictory conventions governing u-marking in the contemporary orthographies.⁴⁴⁹ In the Saxon Electoral orthography, u is the dominant variant for both MHG /uo/ and /ue/ throughout the period under consideration. After 1530, when the ue-spellings do begin to appear with some frequency, they are, according to Kettmann, to be construed as evidence of southern influence and not as an extension of the MG tendency to indicate vocalic length by the addition of a Dehnungszeichen to a monographic vowel.⁴⁵⁰ The tendency toward monographic u-spellings is typical of the Wettin chancery language, then, and different from the Habsburg chancery norm. The ue-variants that do develop in the MG chancery language after 1530 would have been perceived by MG writers as imported forms.

In Maximilian's chancery language the opposition u - o is frequently neutralized before nasals in a particular group of words (e.g., sunst ~ sonst, kunig ~ kónig, etc.),⁴⁵¹ so that the Austrian chancery regularly writes the MG forms in o in these cases. This pattern is a continuation of a practice that developed in the chancery of Frederick III when the chancery staff included a number of MG scribes; it does not represent the adoption of MG forms into the Habsburg language during Maximilian's reign. These MG forms are another feature that the two chancery languages share. The Wettin chancery regularly writes the MG o before nasals in this group of words; Maximilian's chancery often does.

Consonantism

As mentioned previously, the most distinctive difference between the consonantal systems of the Wettin and Habsburg chancery languages is the absence of the graphemic opposition b - p in the

southern orthography; this distinction is of far greater interest to modern linguists than it would have been to contemporary observers. Superficially the two languages would have appeared to match with regard to this orthographic feature. Maximilian's chancery language shows many instances of n for b in loanwords and non-loanwords alike, but the frequency of the p-spellings is lower in the Habsburg language than in some other contemporary Bavarian writing systems. And despite the regular opposition b - p in the Saxon Electoral chancery language, numerous forms occur in Kettmann's sample corpus where p is written for b and even a few instances where b is written for p⁴⁵² (e.g., Briester), as in the Habsburg chancery orthography.

Both chancery languages feature the opposition f - ff, but the geminates bb, dd, and mm do not have graphemic status in either system. In the Wettin orthography bb does not occur, and dd occurs rarely; mm, which occurs occasionally in the Habsburg orthography, increases in the Saxon chancery language only after 1530.⁴⁵³ In these respects the two chancery orthographies are quite similar, and the Electoral orthography is atypical of contemporary MG writing systems.

The Habsburg and Wettin chancery languages show several other minor consonantal differences that are rather insignificant in terms of a modern graphemic comparison, but they make the orthographies appear superficially different and permit one to distinguish the two with relative ease. In the Habsburg language, the labiodental affricate is usually spelled ph, in the Wettin language pf. Although each of the languages shows isolated occurrences of the other spelling, the ph-forms are distinctively southern and archaic. In both orthographies, k has graphemic status, and in this feature they match at a graphemic level. The variants of the k-grapheme, however, look rather different in the two orthographies. The Austrian orthography shows a number of variants in h (ckh, kh, ch, etc.) that are identifiably southern and occur only rarely in the Saxon orthography beginning around 1520. Similarly, the Wettin orthography shows a distinctive variant of the z-grapheme. Though both orthographies feature z, the digraph zc is a Wettin variant that does not occur at all in Maximilian's chancery language.⁴⁵⁴

In the Habsburg chancery language the opposition <d> - <t> is preserved after l, and the southern spellings in -lt- are normal. In the Saxon orthography the opposition is neutralized, and the UG spelling -lt- dominates. Similarly, Maximilian's chancery language generally preserves the opposition <d> - <t> after n. In this environment the Habsburg scribes typically write the MG variant -nd or the neutralization variant -ndt. In the Electoral chancery orthography this opposition is neutralized; both forms occur, and the neutralization variant is also well attested.⁴⁵⁵ In these features also, then, the two writing systems look quite similar; in one case the UG chancery prefers an MG variant, and in the other the MG chancery writes typically UG forms.

Summary

The preceding comparison and the earlier summary of Moser's heterographic analysis⁴⁵⁶ show that from a graphemic standpoint Luther's suggestion that the chanceries of Maximilian I and Frederick the Wise wrote essentially the same language is accurate. Although Maximilian and the Saxon Elector do not appear to have played any personal role in bringing this about, the chancery orthographies are remarkably similar in documents from the first decades of the sixteenth century. Looking beyond the graphemes to the distribution of variants in the EUG and EMG manuscript samples, the superficial likeness of the writing systems in many ways appears greater still. A cursory examination of early sixteenth-century German linguistic treatises suggests that contemporary literati are more likely to have been struck by the similarity of the systems' graphemic variants than to have been aware of the differences in the graphemic patterns, which Moser has delineated so carefully.

Accounting for the similarities in the orthographic systems of the Wettin and Habsburg chancery languages during this period is another matter. Each system includes some forms that are not typical of the region to which it is indigenous; these forms set the chancery orthographies apart from the other, more purely dialectal, forms of

German written in the same regions. On the whole, the Wettin chancery language shows more atypical forms than the Habsburg chancery language does. Kettmann lists a number of additional minor southernmisms (for the most part additional variations and neutralizations) that expand our catalog of the atypical orthographic features of the Saxon chancery language. He notes that UG forms began to be adopted in the Wettin chancery around the mid-fifteenth century and that the practice continued well into the sixteenth century. There was a particular upsurge in the number of southern features in the Wettin language around 1520, right after the death of Maximilian, when Frederick the Wise began his term as Imperial Regent (*Reichsverweser*) and, because of Luther, became deeply involved in Imperial Diets taking place in southern Germany.⁴⁵⁷

Several explanations offered by linguistic historians for the presence of nonindigenous forms in the regional chancery orthographies have become standard. The chancery languages are by definition written professional languages; they are produced only by educated speakers and are thus both a formal and an artificial variety of the language. They are essentially conservative and resistant to innovation.⁴⁵⁸ To some extent the scribal usage of a chancery reflects the geographic and educational backgrounds of its personnel; thus a regionally diversified staff may contribute to a chancery orthography that is a mixture of dialectal forms. In addition the physical location of chanceries in dialectal transition zones, where a more widespread process of language adjustment and leveling occurs, may result in dialectally heterogeneous chancery orthographies; writing systems of this kind may appear to be the product of deliberate standardization or of the avoidance of pronounced dialectal features, even though such acute characteristics are actually not typical of the language of the interface areas.⁴⁵⁹ Taken together, these factors account almost completely for the development of the Habsburg chancery language during the reign of Maximilian I as it has been described in this chapter.

During the reign of Maximilian's father Frederick III, the Habsburg chancery staff included a number of MG scribes, some of whom

had served in the Luxemburg chancery. The MG forms that occur in the Habsburg writing system during Maximilian's reign entered the orthography during his father's time and were retained by the next generation of scribes. The retention of these forms (the continued writing of s for sch initially before l, m, n, and w; and ph for ph throughout the sample, e.g.) is evidence of the conservative nature of the scribal usage. The relatively low frequency with which certain acutely Bavarian dialectal features occur in the language (<a> ~ <o>; ~ <w>; <d> ~ <t>; p for ; kch, gkch for <k>, e.g.) indicates not only that the chancery orthography, as Moser suggests, reflects the level of language that is farthest removed from the lowest linguistic stratum,⁴⁶⁰ but probably also that the basic stock of this written language was from one of the dialectal transition areas (Middle Bavaria or Swabia) and not from a part of the EUG region (Tirol or South Bavaria, e.g.) that featured the most pronounced dialectal forms. The fact that the orthographies of Niclas Ziegler and the Swabian Regula match the Habsburg chancery usage more perfectly than does the orthography of the South Bavarian Treytsaurwein supports this argument. As the percentage of southern scribes in the Habsburg chancery grew, the orthography of Maximilian's chancery language became more similar to that of other forms of German written in the EUG region and less like that of the MG written languages. No new MG forms were added to the chancery orthography during Maximilian's reign. There was, however, an overall increase in the number and frequency of southern forms. The most significant changes in this respect—the increase in ai-spellings, the development of the complete opposition <ei> - <ai>, and the continuing development of the umlaut grapheme <é> (<á>)—may be viewed as structural changes that improve the clarity and efficiency of the orthographic system itself. Other changes, such as the proliferation of the guttural variants in h, in no way streamline the chancery orthography; these forms instead reflect the influence of the local Bavarian dialects or of more typically dialectal Bavarian orthographies on Maximilian's chancery language.

It is more difficult to account for the UG features of the Wettin chancery language in these terms. Although the Saxon chancery, like the Habsburg chancery, functioned in a dialectal interface area, had a dialectally heterogeneous staff, and corresponded with all parts of German-speaking Europe, its orthography does not appear to have followed the almost predictably conservative developmental pattern evident in the Austrian chancery language. The early adoption of the NHG diphthongs in the orthography of the Saxon Electoral chancery can be explained by the chancery's location in a dialectal transition zone and by its regular correspondence with regions that wrote the diphthongs. But the increase in other southern features in the Wettin orthography, features having no parallel developments in the local MG dialects, suggests that some other sociolinguistic dynamic is at work here. Whereas the MG features of Maximilian's chancery language reflect a time when the Hofkanzlei was heavily staffed with MG scribes, the UG features in the orthography of Frederick the Wise appear to have been deliberately affected.

Although it is possible to explain many of the southern features in the Wettin chancery language in terms of the leveling and adjustment that occur naturally in dialectal transition zones, there is evidence to support a different explanation. The continued increase of UG forms in that language during the first half of the sixteenth century, when the Habsburg language was becoming more dialectal, suggests that the UG scribal tradition, although not necessarily the Habsburg chancery norm itself, was viewed as a prestige language in MG at this time. The MG scribes seem to have oriented themselves toward a southern writing standard, whereas the UG scribes wrote essentially in the manner of their own region. ⁴⁶¹

SUMMARY

The sixteenth-century German literati who recommended Maximilian's chancery language were advocating the orthographic system used by the Habsburg scribes. Their statements are based on this writing system as they knew it from printed documents and from actual chancery

manuscripts; and they recommended the language in both its hand-written and printed forms.

Hans Moser's graphemic analysis of the manuscript production of Maximilian's chancery between 1490 and 1518 provides a detailed definition of the Habsburg scribal usage that can be integrated well into the broader range of ENHG phonological studies. His characterization of the Habsburg orthography also provides a basis for comparison with other ENHG writing systems. In some respects, however, his presentation of the orthography, while extremely useful for modern linguistic purposes, blurs the image of the chancery language that its contemporaries—those who described it as a superior variety of written German and who are responsible for its inclusion in modern histories of the German language—would have had. Nevertheless, Moser's meticulous graphemic characterization of the Habsburg chancery language and his comparison of the Imperial Chancery usage to other ENHG writing systems allows one to make tentative assumptions about how Maximilian's chancery language was viewed by those who wrote it as well as those who read it. His syngraphic analyses show clearly that from a modern point of view the orthographic norm of Maximilian's chancery was quite flexible but still generally identifiable.

The case studies of Treytsaurwein, Ried, and Ziegler amplify the image of the chancery norm that Moser developed. These scribes appear to be the products of three different scribal schools, although each writes an orthography that in most respects falls within the chancery norm as defined by Moser. The two older scribes, Treytsaurwein and Ried, who are Tiroleans, write orthographies that essentially match the Habsburg chancery norm from the end of Maximilian's reign. The younger Swabian, Ziegler, writes a typically Swabian orthography that matches the Habsburg orthography from around 1490. Thus even though none of the three scribes writes an acutely dialectal orthography, their regional origins may actually be evident in their individual writing patterns. The fact that none of the scribes appears to have adjusted his personal usage during his period of service in the chancery indicates that each penman considered his written German

already to be in compliance with the chancery standard as he understood it.

An examination of the manuscripts endorsed by Treytsaurwein and Ziegler in their capacity as chancery secretaries shows they approved diplomatic documents that fall within the range of Moser's norm but that did not match their personal scribal usages. This finding supports the contentions that the acknowledged norm was quite flexible and that chancery visas testified only to the accuracy of a document's content but did not approve orthography or style. Ried's manuscript production, however, suggests that there were limits to the degree of orthographic variation that Maximilian's scribes tolerated. In the Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief, Ried copies a legal document in a variety of contemporary Bavarian similar to but not exactly like his own usage or the chancery norm. He apparently finds the orthography completely acceptable, however, because he does not adjust it. This is not the situation with the Ambraser Heldenbuch texts that Ried writes in his own orthography. Since one may assume that the source texts from which Ried copied would not all have been written in Maximilian's chancery language, the fact that Ried's copies are all in his own orthography means that he adjusted or translated at least some of his models, presumably those he felt were too far from the current scribal usage. Since none of these models has to our knowledge survived, we cannot speculate about what the contemporary scribe would have felt to be beyond the flexible limit of the chancery writing system. We can only assert that there was such a limit and that the recognition of it resulted in Ried's writing the entire Ambraser Heldenbuch in his own orthography, a decision that has probably obscured the actual sources of the codex forever.

Ried adapted the Heldenbuch sources into his own orthography because they did not conform to the Habsburg chancery norm. The individual orthographies of Treytsaurwein, Ried, and Ziegler, on the other hand, each show forms that are according to Moser's characterization atypical of Maximilian's chancery language, although these orthographies conform to the norm in most respects. This raises some

questions about the definition of the norm. Moser's characterization of the Habsburg chancery language is a descriptive one based essentially on the anonymous manuscript production of scribes from the beginning of Maximilian's reign. Features are considered to be characteristic on the basis of their frequent occurrence in the manuscript sample. Infrequent neutralizations and variants are considered to be atypical of the usage.

In evaluating the accounts put forward by the historians of the German language, however, we are concerned not only with the description but also with the prescription of the chancery norm. It has been suggested that the chancery prescribed the usage evident in its manuscript production. If this was the case, none of the variants and neutralizations written by favored scribes like Ried, Treytzsaurwein, and Ziegler can be considered irregular. If a norm was prescribed in the Habsburg chancery, certainly Treytzsaurwein must have written it, since he received all of his scribal training there. Yet his orthography, like Ried's, includes the Bavarian dialectal forms that occur infrequently in Moser's sample. There is no extralinguistic evidence that Maximilian's chancery was in any active sense a scribal school, just as there is no indication that it fostered the development of German as a belletristic medium. The variation in the individual usages of these three scribes would seem to confirm that indeed neither was the case. Not only do they each write forms that occur infrequently in the total chancery production, but they also find similarly infrequent orthographic features acceptable enough to adopt without alteration (consider Ried's copy of the Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief). This indicates that the flexible norm that Hans Moser described was even more elastic than his characterization indicates. His description shows what was typical of the usage but not all that was acceptable within it. As the catalog of possible Habsburg orthographic features increases, however, it becomes more difficult to distinguish the chancery writing system from other contemporary varieties of written EUG. It also becomes more difficult to guess on what basis contemporary admirers of Maximilian's chancery language distinguished it from other similar UC written languages.

Moser's heterographic analysis brings this latter issue into sharper focus. It shows that although Maximilian's chancery language is identifiably EUG, it was not so pronouncedly Bavarian as it might have been, and it even retained some distinctively MG features that had come into the chancery orthography during the reign of Frederick III. In most respects the graphemic pattern of the Habsburg chancery language matched that of the contemporary Swabian and Bavarian writing systems, with which it has been compared. It also resembled the graphemic pattern of the Saxon Electoral orthography to a surprising degree. This resemblance was due primarily to the fact that the Saxon chancery language had adopted a number of UG forms during the first years of the sixteenth century. The number of UG forms in the Wettin chancery language distinguished it to a degree from other contemporary MG orthographies, giving it a somewhat supradialectal appearance in its own region. By contrast, the Habsburg orthography was by the end of Maximilian's reign becoming progressively more southern in character and more like the other indigenous writing systems of EUG. This development supports the interpretation that the MG features in the Habsburg chancery language around 1500 were the result of historical coincidence rather than deliberate affectation. The increase in southern forms in the Wettin chancery language during the first decades of the sixteenth century, however, suggests the deliberate adoption of certain features of a prestige writing system.

CONCLUSION

In describing "the most common German language," the language that Maximilian and Frederick the Wise "pulled together into a single particular language" and that "all the princes and kings in Germany" emulated, the German he himself wrote, Luther was speaking orthographically. His remarks have to do with a writing system—a convention for rendering German sounds in roman letters—and not with literary style or language level. Luther was not claiming to write the lexicon, syntax, or diction of the chanceries, but only to use their spelling system, which was, he asserted, employed by noble and free city chanceries throughout the Holy Roman Empire.

From an orthographic point of view, Luther's implication that the Habsburg and Wettin chanceries wrote the same variety of German is surprisingly accurate. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, Habsburg scribes wrote the most pronounced features of the SB dialects only as minority forms in their chancery orthography, and they continued to use certain MG spellings that had already been standard in the orthography during the reign of Frederick III. This gave the writing system a mildly supradialectal appearance, although its general characteristics were decidedly EUG. At the same time the Wettin chancery language, although predominantly MG, included a number of southern forms. Thus it too had a somewhat supraregional tone.

The reason for the occurrence of nonindigenous forms in the orthographies was different in each case. In the Habsburg language

they were residual elements of the MG usage that had characterized Imperial Chancery communications during the Luxemburg period. In the Electoral chancery the explanation is somewhat more complicated. Some forms occurring in the Wettin chancery language that do not occur in other contemporary EMG writing systems may be interpreted either as imported southern forms or as early evidence of a gradual modernizing trend in the late medieval writing systems of the region. The NHG diphthongs fall into this category. Other features, such as kh- for <k> and p- for , can only be seen as adopted southern orthographic forms.

No new MG features were added to the Habsburg orthography during Maximilian's reign. Between 1490 and 1519 the writing system added more SG spellings that reflected dialectal pronunciations common to the EUG region, and the orthography came to look more like the other written languages of the southeast. This does not represent a "relapse into linguistic particularism,"⁴⁶² as has been claimed. It is rather the continuation of a development that began when Austrian personnel joined the chancery staff under Frederick III and that continued throughout Maximilian's reign, when South Germans came to dominate the Hofkanzlei. The gradual attrition of MG features in the orthography and the simultaneous increase in UG forms that improved the structural efficiency of the writing system should be understood in terms of the history of the Imperial Chancery before 1519 and in light of the general development of the ENHG written languages in the south. It should not be seen as the result of the later politicization of language, which has been associated with the Reformation. The increase in the number of UG features in the Wettin chancery language in this period cannot be explained to the same extent in terms of chancery personnel and gradual evolutionary trends in the writing system. In the early sixteenth century the Wettin scribes appear to have affected certain UG orthographic characteristics that were not indicative of parallel developments in the spoken dialects of Middle Germany.

During the reigns of Maximilian and Frederick the Wise, the orthographies of the Austrian and Saxon chancery languages, which were evolving along somewhat different lines, converged so that they looked very much alike at about the time Luther made his assessment. Then, following their own developmental trends, they diverged again. The superficial similarities between the writing systems around 1530 were great enough to justify Luther's contention that they were a single written language. But Luther's explanation of how this language came into being and how it was viewed in contemporary German scriptoria is less accurate, and it has resulted in some confusion in the histories of the German language.

Neither Maximilian, Frederick the Wise, nor their chancery personnel consciously attempted to shape the chancery languages nor to make them similar to each other. Maximilian and Frederick did not, as Luther suggests, pull the two orthographies together into one language. There is no extralinguistic evidence to suggest that the Habsburg chancery was concerned with language standardization, with the development of a supradialectal writing system, or with the creation of a "literary instrument," although Luther's remarks have led historians of the German language to pursue these issues. Luther also seems to have mistaken the direction in which dialectal influence was moving in the ENHG written languages during the first decades of the sixteenth century. He indicates that the Saxon chancery orthography, his own model, was the model for all the princes, noble courts, and free cities in the Empire. This statement suggests that the Wettin usage was more widespread than it actually was; it implies that it was typical of contemporary MG writing systems; it does not distinguish between the usage of this most elevated of chanceries and that of the scriptoria of the cities and the lesser nobility; and it presents the Saxon chancery as the trend setter of the day. Luther's statement does not mention the number of southern features in the Wettin orthography, which was increasing even at the time he wrote.⁴⁶³ Luther did model his usage on the Wettin writing system, but the Saxon orthography included significant features adopted from the writing

systems of the south. Luther was apparently unaware of the southern cast of the Wettin language, which distinguished it from some other contemporary varieties of MG.

Maximilian's chancery was not a major scribal school, although some of its members, like Marx Treytsaurwein, received all of their training there and others, like Hans Ried, instructed private pupils in writing. The orthographic reform that is supposed to have been carried out under the auspices of Maximilian and Niclas Ziegler never took place, and none of the chancery members—with the possible exception of Hans Krachenberger, about whose linguistic activities little is known—demonstrated any particular interest in the development of the written German language. The rigid chancery procedures, which were observed quite strictly, included a number of document controls; but all of these were intended to ensure the accuracy of the content of the registers and the individual Urkunden. One of the chancery ordinances does refer to the "style of the chancery," but this was a matter of traditional administrative diction, not of orthography.

Despite this lack of prescriptive attention to orthographic matters in the chancery, however, the Habsburg scribes wrote what is from a modern point of view a remarkably consistent orthography. This writing system, which may not be understood in the rigid terms of modern Rechtschreibung and which was even more flexible than Hans Moser's characterization indicates, shows that the individual scribes were quite conscious of orthographic matters as they wrote. Although the orthographic system permitted a wide range of personal scribal variations, the scribes' choices were neither unlimited nor random, and the scribes for the most part stayed well within the range of options included in the chancery norm as Moser has delineated it.

Accounting for the orthographic conformity of Habsburg chancery documents from Maximilian's reign is complicated by the fact that we know only in very general terms how sixteenth-century penmen perceived the orthographies they read and wrote. We know, for example, that contemporary men of letters considered Maximilian's chancery language to be a particular variety of written German that could be

distinguished not only from the German written in other dialectal regions but also from the inferior orthography of the UG city scribes. Statements to this effect were made not only by the Middle Germans, Luther and Frangk, to whom the Habsburg chancery language may have seemed somewhat foreign, but also by an educated native of the UG region, Eck, who would have been familiar with the varieties of German that were being written in the southeast at the time. And the evidence from the Habsburg chancery manuscripts themselves indicates that Maximilian's scribes tolerated only a certain amount of deviation from the implicit norm. Hans Ried's manuscript production indicates that he found the UG usage of Florian Waldauf, for example, to be acceptable without alteration, although it does not quite match the modern characterization of the norm; whereas the elusive sources of the Ambraser Heldenbuch seem to have fallen outside the acceptable range of variation and therefore had to be recast in the chancery orthography.

The difficulty is that we do not know what sort of contrast these contemporary references to Maximilian's chancery language imply because the negative examples with which the Habsburg usage might be compared either do not survive (as in the case of the Heldenbuch sources) or are not specified (as in the case of Eck's city scribes). Thus we do not know which features of the Habsburg orthography contemporaries considered to be superior and which features of other writing systems were considered to be inferior. And what is more important, we do not know how similar or dissimilar contemporaries would have felt individual UG scribal usages (like those of Ziegler, Ried, and the Bavarian Regula scribe) to be. Would they have seen these individual orthographies as similar variants of the same usage (as we are inclined to), would they have perceived them as examples of a single orthography, or would they have viewed them as distinct scribal usages? We cannot know, and the contemporary linguistic treatises afford little assistance in this matter.⁴⁶⁴

Even Moser's valuable characterization of the Habsburg chancery usage can only be of limited assistance here. It describes from the most appropriate modern linguistic point of view the characteristics

of a large corpus of manuscripts known to have been produced in Maximilian's chancery system. In doing so, however, it generalizes certain superficial features of the orthography that contemporaries may have considered to be distinctive. Further, Moser's definition of the flexible orthographic norm is so elastic that it becomes difficult to differentiate between documents written in Maximilian's chancery language and those written in other contemporary varieties of Bavarian. Moser generally selects as the designations of the individual graphemes those variants that occur most frequently in the sample. It is this inventory of graphemes that essentially characterizes the regular chancery usage as he presents it. But for most of the graphemes Moser also lists variants that he finds to be typical of the usage and that fall within the limits of the norm. Beyond this he notes that irregular forms are also permitted in the chancery usage.⁴⁶⁵ And indeed, the individual orthography of so regular a Habsburg scribe as Treytsaurwein can only be fit into Moser's characterization of Maximilian's chancery language if one invokes the provision for irregular forms.

According to Moser, the Habsburg usage is generally Austro-Bavarian in character, represents the elevated level of language farthest removed from the basic spoken language, and lacks a number of more pronouncedly dialectal features common in other contemporary EUG texts.⁴⁶⁶ The dialectal features he lists, however, do occur in the manuscript production of Habsburg scribes who cannot be considered atypical. This means that the Habsburg usage is distinguished from other EUG orthographies only by the relative frequency of the occurrence of these features that modern scholars consider to be most characteristic of the SB dialects, and by a few MG forms. Moser's characterization of the Habsburg norm is useful in comparing the Austrian chancery orthography with significantly different writing systems from other dialectal regions. It can hardly be used, however, to distinguish between contemporary varieties of EUG. Neither does it permit one to identify unequivocally documents that are written in the Habsburg chancery language; and thus it cannot be used to provide

conclusive answers about the influence and range of impact of the chancery orthography.

The fact that Moser's characterization cannot provide any absolute criteria for identifying the Habsburg scribal usage should be understood not as a deficiency in his analysis, but as an indication of the evolutionary state of the EUG written languages at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Even without knowing precisely which features of the prevalent writing systems contemporaries considered to be inferior or "cacographic" (and we shall probably never know this), we should perhaps assume that with the exception of its atavistic MG forms Maximilian's chancery language was more like other EUG orthographies of the day than either the accounts in the histories of the German language or the remarks of Luther, Frangk, and Eck might lead one to suspect. Perhaps the Habsburg usage was less distinctive or easily recognizable even in the early sixteenth century than we have supposed. If so, the significance of its reputation among contemporary literati should be reconsidered.

It is impossible to know how similar a sixteenth-century observer would have considered the personal orthographies of the Habsburg scribes to be. The fact that the individual usages are for the most part consistent within the manuscript corpus of a single penman but show variations from scribe to scribe supports the extralinguistic evidence that the scribes learned their orthographies from different teachers. The great majority of the Habsburg scribes whose individual manuscript production has been investigated wrote their own orthographies without noticeable adjustment throughout the entire period of their chancery service. This indicates that their skills at the time they took up their duties were considered satisfactory and that they were under no compulsion to adapt their orthographies to any more rigid or specific chancery standard. It also means that from the point of view of the chancery itself, the individual usages were not only acceptable but in a general sense equivalent.

The question, then, is how the scribes who acquired their skills outside the chancery came to write what is both in modern and

to some extent in sixteenth-century terms the same language. The answer would seem to be the modists and writing masters. Cancelleyesch—that is, both chancery scripts and diction—was the basic writing skill that vernacular writing teachers of all levels taught in Germany toward the beginning of the sixteenth century. Although the more accomplished penmen offered instruction in a variety of scripts and styles, all writing masters taught at least one chancery language. At the outset of Maximilian's reign many of the Hofkanzlei scribes were from Upper Germany, and by the end of his reign the staff was almost completely UG. These copyists probably acquired their earliest writing skills in the south or from writing masters who taught the EUG Gemeindeutsch as the fundamental writing skill.

Two other factors would also have contributed to the relative homogeneity of the Habsburg chancery scribal usage. First, the southern orthographies, as is evident from the number of UG forms taken over into the MG writing systems of the day, were considered to be prestigious and were emulated even outside the UG region. The recommendation of the Habsburg chancery language by Luther and by Frangk in the 1530s, as the politicization of regional languages was beginning to occur, attests to this fact as well; even the Protestant reformers admired the cancelleyesch of the south. In the years prior to the Reformation, literacy and more particularly proficiency in chancery skills were important tools of upward social mobility. Unlike the grammarians of the second quarter of the sixteenth century, who taught reading skills in order to provide individuals with access to fundamental religious texts, the earlier writing teachers emphasize in their advertisements the production of correctly written texts and the advantages of being able to produce them. Since the southern orthographic forms were particularly esteemed around 1500 and continued to be popular in the north well into the sixteenth century, it is probable that the southern orthography is the one writing masters preferred to teach and ambitious pupils sought to learn, especially in Upper Germany where the writing system was indigenous.

This alone, however, would not account for the similarity of usage one finds in documents from Maximilian's chancery. As Eck implied, even among the contemporary UG orthographies some varieties were considered superior and others inferior; the Habsburg writing system was recognized as a good orthography. Although most novice penmen in the south would have learned some sort of UG orthography at this time, the quality would have varied widely. Maximilian's administrative system was doubtless the most illustrious group of chanceries in the SG region at the end of the fifteenth century, and the opportunities for advancement which it presented to young scribes were as great as those available to professional penmen anywhere in the Empire. Indeed, as we have seen, in Maximilian's chancery the sons of drapers and armorers were able to outstrip the sons of noble houses by relying first on their scribal skills and then on their political acumen. All the young scribes of the region would have aspired to positions in one of the scriptoria in the Habsburg chancery system, and it in turn would have been able to select its staff from the best talent available. Presumably it chose scribes who already wrote in the approved way, that is, who wrote more or less according to the orthography Moser has described. The great attraction of the Imperial Chancery would also have caused aspiring penmen throughout the region to write and teach this orthography. The prestige of the southern orthographies in general and the particular attraction of the Habsburg chancery for ambitious scribes would have resulted in one or more varieties of UG cancelleysch being taught as the basic written language in southern Germany. Together these factors may account for the orthographic homogeneity of the Habsburg writing system between 1490 and 1518.

Maximilian's chancery language was the most prestigious UG writing system at a time when southern orthographic features in general were admired throughout Germany. It seems to have differed from other prevalent EUG orthographies only by degree, and contemporaries would probably have had as much difficulty distinguishing it absolutely from similar Bavarian orthographies as modern scholars do. When Luther

and Frangk refer to Maximilian's chancery language, each recommends it as a good or useful variety of German. Neither suggests that it is particularly different from other kinds, however; they only say it is exemplary. It is likely that they recommend Maximilian's orthography not because it is radically different from others, but rather because it is one to which almost any literate person in the Empire could have had access. Written and printed diplomatic and literary documents from Maximilian's chancery were disseminated throughout the Empire in considerable numbers during his reign. They would have been more widely available than examples of other, possibly equally good, scribal usages. When Eck refers to Maximilian's orthography, comparing it with the lesser varieties of UG written by the city scribes, he is writing to Lang, a master of the chancery usage and one to whom the differences in the orthographies mentioned would have been apparent. Even here, however, there is no suggestion that Maximilian's orthography is markedly different from other sorts of UG.

It is difficult to assess the direct influence of Maximilian's chancery language on other contemporary German writing systems around 1500 because it is almost impossible to distinguish the Habsburg orthography incontrovertibly from other prevalent varieties of EUG Gemeindeutsch. Not every orthography that matches Moser's characterization of the Habsburg norm can or should be associated with the chancery writing system. Maximilian's chancery language was a particularly well-known form of the popular SG orthographies that were gaining ground in other dialectal regions at this time; and as such it was singled out for mention by contemporaries. These few references are not sufficient grounds for assuming that all documents written in orthographies matching the Habsburg chancery norm can be connected with the chancery or seen as evidence of the influence of the chancery orthography. Because of its attraction for ambitious scribes, Maximilian's chancery probably did influence the kind of cancelleysch that southern writing masters taught and that students of the region sought to learn at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It cannot, however, be seen as the single source of all the similar EUG orthographies

of the period, and we will probably not know finally how to interpret its role among the EMG and EUG written languages of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries until more is understood about the dynamics of prestige language phenomena.⁴⁶⁷

In the meantime Maximilian's chancery language continues to merit a place in the histories of the German language not only because of the praise accorded it by contemporaries, but also because it was in fact a rather streamlined and somewhat supradialectal writing system. It should be seen as the most renowned of several similar varieties of EUG Gemeindeutsch. It owed its contemporary reputation, however, more to its wide distribution and the tremendous political status of the Habsburg chancery than to the uniqueness of its orthographic features. As one of the SG writing systems that influenced EMG orthographies during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Maximilian's chancery language may be said to have contributed to the development of the NHG orthographic system. Its influence, however, was neither so widespread nor so specific as Luther and the histories of the German language have claimed.

Appendix 1

Index to the Manuscript Sample

In the following index each numbered item corresponds to the text of the same number transcribed in appendix 2. In the case of the literary manuscripts and the Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief, the documentation indicates the folios or sections actually examined to produce the descriptions of the chancery usage of individual Habsburg scribes included in chapter 3. These selections have had to be shortened in appendix 2. The index entries offer, in the order listed below, as much of the following information as is known about each manuscript:

- (1) The date the manuscript was written and the location of its origin.
- (2) The classification of the manuscript (e.g., letter, mandate, deed, etc.) or, in the case of a literary text, its title.
- (3) The stage of execution that the text represents (e.g., draft, fair copy, etc.).
- (4) The name of the scribe who penned the text.
- (5) The variety of signature (formal or informal) or other endorsement formula, if any, found on the manuscript.
- (6) Any notation on the document indicating which chancery controls the text has passed (e.g., "Rta," "rata," "Exp," "Epp," etc.).

- (7) The present location of the manuscript. HHSA refers to the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv; TLA to the Tiroler Landes-regierungsarchiv. Other archives and libraries are cited with their complete titles. Where I have worked from facsimile plates ([14]-[16]), both the actual location and the printed editions of the manuscripts are listed.
- (8) A summary of the content of the text (diplomatic manuscripts only).

DIPLOMATIC MANUSCRIPTS

1. 1498 June 22 Freiburg. Diplomatic letter. Draft. Niclas Ziegler. No signature. "Ept." Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 4d, fol. 92.
 Maximilian informs the Hofkammer that he has promised to split a fief between his Secretary Niclas Ziegler and Hofmarschall Heinrich Graf zu Fürstemberg, and then later to grant them each an entire fief.
2. 1499 September 7 Reutlingen. Diplomatic letter. Rough final draft. Niclas Ziegler. Signature: "Niclas Ziegler" (informal). "Epp." Incomplete text. Innsbruck, TLA, Maximiliana I/41, fol. 293.
 Ziegler writes privately to Serntein concerning Maximilian's financial difficulties. He also complains that he has not been allowed to use the official Chancery seal. Ziegler marks the letter "In sein Hennd," an indication of the sensitive nature of its content.
3. 1500 February 7 Innsbruck. Diplomatic letter. Fair copy. Hans Ried. No signature. Sealed with Ried's personal seal. Innsbruck, TLA (LRA), Schatzarchiv No. 1225 (UR 604).
 Hans Ried acknowledges his appointment by Maximilian to the office of Customs Collector ("Zollner") at Bolzano.
4. 1501 December 29 Hall i. Inntal. Deed of foundation establishing Ynser lieben Frauen Capelle at Hall. Fair copy, one of

four original copies. Hans Ried. Signatures and brief statements by Florian and Barbara Waldauf von Waldenstein in their own hands. Innsbruck, Stadtarchiv, Urkunde 587, Items 1-4, 87-91, 204-08.

The deed establishes the chapel at Hall and includes detailed instructions for the maintenance of the church, the support of the priest, the order of services, etc.

5. 1505 January 6 Gmunden. Diplomatic letter. Very rough draft. Niclas Ziegler. Signature: "Niclas Ziegler" (informal). Marginal notes, also by Ziegler. Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 9a/1, fols. 7-8.

Niclas Ziegler writes privately to Chancellor Serntein concerning various items of chancery business. Ziegler mentions Serntein's remarks about Hanns Renner, Maximilian's displeasure at Paul von Liechtenstain's frequent journeys, and Maximilian's financial difficulties (which he is treating with great secrecy).

6. 1505 September 27 "Fewr" in Brabant. Diplomatic mandate. Fair copy. Marx Treytzsaurwein. Signatures: "M Treytzsaurwein," "M ppria" (formal); "p Reg p s." "Comissio dñi Regis ppria." Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 9b/1, fol. 202.

Maximilian writes to the Haußcamerer at Innsbruck, to Sigmund Spreng, Probst at Ambras, to Ulrich Moringer, Camermaister at Innsbruck, and to Gilg Fronnhaimer, Zollner at Rattenberg, concerning the "Catzenloer's" handling of the brass trade at "Müllein" (i.e., Mühlau). An accounting is to be made of the foundry's financial transactions and a report sent to Treytzsaurwein at Court.

7. 1506 January 5 Linz. Diplomatic letter. Fair copy. Marx Treytzsaurwein. Signature: "M TreytzSaurwein," "M ppria" (formal). Vienna, HHSA, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe.

Treytzsaurwein agrees to deal with Hanns von Stetten on behalf of Maximilian in a matter originally assigned to Paul

von Liechtenstain. Treytsaurwein will apparently be required to spend two hundred gulden. Maximilian has procured fifty tons of copper for Treytsaurwein at a price of two hundred gulden.

8. 1506 July 7 Vienna. Diplomatic mandate. Draft. Marx Treytsaurwein. Signature: "Marx tr" (informal). "Exp." Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 10a/2, fol. 98.

Maximilian announces to his commanders a forthcoming eight-day cease-fire with the Hungarians. Because he does not know whether the Hungarians will honor the agreement, he gives orders to be implemented in the event they do not. Treytsaurwein notes that Maximilian wants either Serntein or Maister Vincentz (Rogkner) to have twelve copies of the letter prepared by noon.

9. 1506 December 13 Traunstein. Diplomatic letter. Fair copy. Marx Treytsaurwein. Signatures: "M Treytsaurwein," "p M ppria" (formal); "p reg p s." "Commissio dñi Regis ppria." Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 10b/2, fol. 30.

Maximilian commands his Camermaister at Innsbruck, Vlrich Moringer, and his goldsmith, Benediet, to join him at once at Rattenberg.

10. 1507 November 10 Cologne. Diplomatic letter. Fair copy. Niclas Ziegler. Signature: "Niclas Ziegler." "p. m. p." (informal). Closing seal. Innsbruck, TLA, Maximiliana VI/I, fol. 104.

Maximilian wishes to engage the services of Duke Heinrich von Braunschweig to command the Imperial forces. Ziegler, after conferring with Braunschweig's Chancellor and Marschall, feels that the Duke's services may be had for less than the asking price. Ziegler outlines in detail to Maximilian what he believes will be an acceptable counterproposal.

11. 1511 July 30 Mühlau b. Innsbruck. Diplomatic letter. Fair copy. Marx Treytzsaurwein. Signature: "Marx treitzsaurwein" (informal). Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 19a/1, fol. 129.

Treytzsaurwein informs Chancellor Serntein that he is unfortunately unable to comply with Maximilian's summons to appear "von haus aus" because he is currently without the funds to maintain his household. Having eaten his seed corn in the previous year during his illness and having already pledged all of his possessions, he is now utterly destitute. The illness has ruined him physically and financially. Treytzsaurwein asks Maximilian to pay him two hundred gulden for his services during the coming year. In return he will come to Vienna and do the Emperor's bidding. If he has not recovered by the end of the year, he will make no further requests of Maximilian.

LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS

12. 1513 Vienna. Theuerdank MS. O. Fair copy. Marx Treytzsaurwein. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, VNB Codex 2867, fols. 1-19.

This copy of the Theuerdank draft was prepared entirely by Treytzsaurwein and was intended for Emperor Maximilian.

13. 1513-14 Vienna. Theuerdank MS. P. Rough draft for printer? Marx Treytzsaurwein. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, VNB Codex 2806, fols. 1-12.

This copy of the Theuerdank draft was prepared by Treytzsaurwein from MS. O.

14. 1504-16 Bolzano. Ambraser Heldenbuch. Fair copy. Hans Ried. Hartmann von Aue: "I. Büchlein." Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, VNB Codex 2663, fols. XXII^{r/c} - XXVI^{v/a}. Facsimile: Codices Selecti, 43 (1973).

15. 1504-16 Bolzano. Ambraser Heldenbuch. Fair copy. Hans Ried. Herrant von Wildon: "Diu getrew Kone." Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, VNB Codex 2663, fol. CCXVII^{r/a} - r^b. Facsimile: Codices Selecti, 43 (1973).

16. 1504-16 Bolzano. Ambraser Heldenbuch. Fair copy. Hans Ried. Wernher der Gartenaere: Helmbrecht. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, VNB Codex 2663, fols. CCXXV^{r/b} - CCXXIX^{r/a}. Facsimile: Codices Selecti, 43 (1973).

Appendix 2

The Manuscript Sample

In transcribing the following texts, I have attempted to reproduce a group of diplomatic and literary manuscripts by members of the chancery of Maximilian I to be used by researchers concerned with either the Renaissance treatises on the German language, the ongoing graphemic discussion, or both. Because it was the orthography of the Habsburg chancery language that resulted in its contemporary acclaim, I have deliberately avoided standardizing the texts in most respects. Certain orthographic features characteristic of the German written in the Habsburg chancery are obscured in editions that have been normalized excessively for the convenience of modern readers. Although the transcriptions in the sample are not in the strict sense diplomatic since they do not reflect all the allotypic variants of individual letters that occur in the manuscripts, they do preserve the orthographic variants that are discussed in the contemporary grammars and appear to have had significance either to the penmen or the language theorists of the day. Thus punctuation, capitalization, and vocalic marking are retained in the transcriptions regardless of their import for modern linguistic analysis.⁴⁶⁸ The sample is intended to complement the text volume of Hans Moser's 1977 study in that it includes literary texts produced by chancery scribes, and it retains various orthographic features Moser considered irrelevant in terms of his graphemic method.

In the transcriptions individual letters are capitalized according to the manuscripts. Punctuation is treated in much the same way; wherever a virgula or a point occurs in the text, it is transcribed. Superscripts are reproduced as they appear except for the u-hook, which is indicated by the symbol (°) throughout the sample.

In both the cursive hands of Maximilian's chancery scribes and the Vorfraktur of the Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief and the Ambraser Heldenbuch, certain majuscule and minuscule letters appear in various forms, often within the same manuscript written by a single scribe. For the most part allotypic variants of this kind (i.e., more than one shape used to represent the same letter), different from those produced by vocalic marking, are of interest only from the standpoint of paleography or calligraphy.⁴⁶⁹ They were not generally considered worthy of mention by the early grammarians, and they have no significance for modern graphemic analyses. The alternative forms of minuscule r in the chancery scripts (the Kurrentschrift r and the Arabic-2 r), for example, fall in this category.⁴⁷⁰ The grammarians do not discuss the different shapes of r, and the variant forms do not appear to reflect any phonological opposition; to the extent that the distribution of these forms can be predicted, it is explained on paleographic grounds.

Only in the case of the minuscule s is allotypic variation of this kind discussed by the sixteenth-century language theorists, and here, as elsewhere in these early linguistic treatises, the distinction between the symbols and the sounds they were intended to represent is rather fuzzy.⁴⁷¹ In the manuscripts written by Maximilian's chancery scribes the minuscule s is represented by a total of three single characters and, in combination with z, a ligature. In the cursive hands of the diplomatic manuscripts and the Theuerdank drafts ([1]-[3], [5]-[13]) a long s (ſ) is used initially, medially, morpheme-finally, in medial doublings, and in combination with z medially and finally;⁴⁷² a round s (ɔ) is used in absolute final position and is very occasionally doubled at the end of a word.⁴⁷³ In the book hand of the Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief and the Ambraser Heldenbuch as well as

in the cursive hands of certain diplomatic texts from the chancery not included in the present sample,⁴⁷⁴ the long and round s occur as described above; and a third minuscule s, a short s (s),⁴⁷⁵ alternates in absolute final position with the round s. In his discussion of the various s-graphs,⁴⁷⁶ Moser proceeds on the assumption "that there is a phonological opposition between the broad and narrow s-sounds that is only partially realized graphemically" in the writing system of Maximilian's chancery.⁴⁷⁷ His analysis of the s-spellings that occur in his text selection supports this premise and justifies his generalization of all types of minuscule s found in the manuscripts to the single letter s in his transcriptions. In the following transcriptions and in the excerpts from them cited in the text, I adopt this practice so that s represents f, g, and s; and ss represents ff, gg, fg, fs, and ss. The character B is used for the ligature s + z.

Abbreviations in the chancery manuscripts are usually indicated in one of three ways. In words that occur frequently in the diplomatic texts, certain letters are normally omitted. Thus dz, for example, is often written for "daz," Ao for "Anno," and so forth. Where the resolution of such shortened forms is immediately obvious, I present the abbreviations just as they appear in the manuscript, without adding the missing letters. Where the resolution is less apparent, I supply the missing letters and underline them. The second form of abbreviation occurring in the chancery texts is the common Nasalstrich, an unattached tilde or bar that is usually written above that letter before or after which an omission has been made. This normally indicates the gemination of the nasal or the addition of e before the nasal above which the tilde appears. These abbreviations are resolved throughout the sample, and in all cases the added letters are underlined.

The third and perhaps most characteristic form of abbreviation used in the chancery manuscripts is a long final stroke or hook. Three common varieties of this final hook occur in the manuscripts from Maximilian's chancery. (1) A hook beginning at the line and rising to the left usually represents -er or -r. It is sometimes

written after the letter it would actually precede if the word were spelled out completely. Thus Hrn + the abbreviation represents "Herrn" and would appear this way in the sample. Occasionally this r-hook is written beginning at the line and rising to the right.

(2) A long stroke beginning at the line, dropping below it to a sharp point, then rising again to cross the line and hook above it usually stands for -en or -n. It is distinct from the r-hook in both form and function. (3) A long curved stroke dropping below the line and trailing off to the right indicates that the last syllable of the word has been omitted. This abbreviation replaces a syllable composed of e or some other unstressed vowel plus a nasal; it is sometimes used to represent the -um in the Latin "datum," for example. I resolve these abbreviation hooks throughout the sample and indicate that I have done so by underlining the letters added. The spellings used in the resolutions of abbreviations are based on unabbreviated forms of the same words found elsewhere in the same manuscript whenever possible (although the same word may be spelled differently within a single text) or elsewhere within the manuscript sample.

Where I have been unable to decipher a word within a text, I have indicated the omission thus [...] with each dot representing an omitted letter, or I have enclosed my attempted transcription in [square brackets]. Ellipses in the transcriptions are indicated thus [---]. Marginalia are set off within <angle brackets> and inserted into the text at the points indicated in the manuscript.

DIPLOMATIC MANUSCRIPTS

[1] Maximilian etc/

Erwirdiger fürst. andächtiger. Edler vnd lieber
get[rewer] Wir haben. vnserm hofmarschalch hein-
richen Grafen Zu fürstemberg. vnd vnnserm secretarj
Niclasen Ziegler/ Erstlich halben teil/ eines
völligen lehen. vnd nachmals. Dafür ein gantz
lehen. so vns auch heimgefallen ist/ laut diser
[huiten] bylassen Zedl/ Zulassen Zugesagt/ In der

gestalt. dz vns dz Erst lehen gantz Zusteem solle/
 damit vnser new furgenomen ordnung gehalten werde/
 Nu haben Sy vns ytz. angeZaigt/ dz die lehen. so
 weilend Iob Kirhstetter vns weilend Kunig lasslaen
 als hertzogen Zu osterreich emphangen hat/ Vns
 auch. heimgefallen seyen/ vnd wir Inen dieselben
 lehen <souil der seinen> auf Ir diemütig bete/ für
 baide obgemelte lehen die wir Inen vormals Zuleyhen
 Zugs[agt] hetten/ vnd nu vns allein Zusteem sollen
 aus gnaden verlihen/ demnach Emp[helen] wir Euch
 ernstlich. dz Ir denselben vnserm hofmarschalch.
 vnd secretarj darüber einen. lehensbrief vnd vnser
 hofcamer ordnung fertiget vnd gebet/ darin tut Ir
 vnser ernstlich meynung/ datum/ frÿburg. An freitag
 vor Iohannis Baptista/ A o 98/
 An die hofcamer

[2] --1 line--1 glauben ganntz dhein gelt by K. Mt.
 dann wir nit wol Zerung haben mügen. Wo Ich aber
 etwas erfar/ sol darInn dhein vleiss gespart
 werden/ darumb wellet mich entschuldigt haben/ Ich
 kan. oder waiss. Euch des hofwesens nichts sonndrs
 Zuschreiben/ denn das der hertzog von Maylannd mit
 seinen kinden heraus gen Insprugg Zewcht/ vnd
 villeicht gar gen Vlmen. dahin Ku. Mt. auf nechsten
 fritag oder Mitich kummet/ franckreich vnd Mailand.
 werden In gar vertreiben/ Ist warlich mitsampt
 dem. das der Sweytzer Krieg. widerumb angeen sol.
 Ku. Mt [...] got schicken Zum pessten./ Ku. Mt
 wirdet trewlich geraten einen tag Im Reich Zehalten.
 Vnd die anstossenden fleckhen Zubesetzen/ Vnd das
 pesst sunst steet Ku. Mt. auf disem handl/ gewiss-
 lich ein swerer abfall. Aber ich kan nit merckhen.
 das es seiner Mt. angenem sein welle/ Sein. Mt.

hat ytz den nechsten Grafen Platen. vnd Steten.
 auch Edlleuten. mit der anzal wie Zu Costentz
 abgeredt ist/ dz sich auf viij^M Mann lauffet/ den
 nechsten In dz Hegew Zu Ziehen aufgepoten. auf
 Mathey. wirdet vom pundt ein tag Zu Vlmen gehalten/
 Morggraf fridrich will den Krieg wider die Nürm-
berger anfahen/ der pundt hat Im hilff Zugesagt/
 Ist ytz Zu villingen weg vnd als man sagt Heim/
 sein volck ligt noch Im leger/ Ku. Mt. arbait
 vast. In zubehalten vnd sein furnemen anZustellen/
 Graf Wolfgang hat noch am hof dheinen tittl nach
verwesung/ Ich verste Zolner. sol an Herrn Veyten
 <solihen> stat sein/ Wo Ich dz sigl gehept. het Ich
 etwas mugen fertigen. Also hab Ich es andern
 leuten müessen Zu schickhen das ist mir spötlisch.
 auch lenger vnleidlich <[---]> darzu [auch] Ewr
 nachteil>. Ewre zwen schreiben haben mir Zu fryburg
 nichts hellffen wellen/ Wo Ir ein vertrawen In mich
 setzen. als mit dem sigl. der Künig. vnd hertzog
 fridrich getan haben/ wolt Ich mich dermassen
 gegen Euch halten/ dz Ir darab ein gefallen hetten/
 Ich mayne/ auch Ir solten das tün/ wie Ir mir
Zugesagt habt/ Datum Reütlingen. an Sambstag. vnser
frauwen Abend Nativitatis. A o 99
Herr Ziprian von Serntein
 Ku Mt Pt Secretarj etc In sein Hennd

[3] Ich Hanns Ried Bekenn offennlich mit disem brief.
 Als der Allerdurleßtigist grosmächtigist furst.
 vnd herr herr Maximilian ^Römischer kunig etc mein
 allergnedigister herr. mich bis auf seiner kün-
 glichen Maiestat widerrüeffen Zu derselben Zollner
 Zu Botzen am Eysagk aufgenommen. Vnd mir darauf
 Über den gewonlichen alten Sold. wie der vormals
 anndern seiner Ku Mt. Zollnern an demselben Zoll

gegeben ist. vnd mir auch alle Jar. vñtz auf seiner
 Kü Mt. wolgefallen dauon geben werden sol. bis auf
 derselben seiner Kü gnaden widerrüeffen. Nemlich
 Acht guldin Reinisch Zu ainer pessrung. doch allain
 ditz Iars Zugeben Zugesagt hat. Daz Ich dagegen
 seiner Kü Mt bey meinen trewen. vnd Eeren Zugesagt.
 vnd versprochen hab. wissenntlich mit dem briefe Also
 daz Ich denselben seiner Kü Mt. Zoll am Eÿsagk. nü
 hinfür von seiner küniglichen gnaden wegen
 treülichen. vnd vleissiklichen. Jnnhaben. verwesen.
 vnd alles gelt. so seinen Ku gnaden ſe ZuZeiten
 daran geualen wirdet. aigentlich. vnd ordenlichen
 aufschreiben. Vnd das albeg von stündan in gegen-
 würtikait seiner Ku Mt Gegen Zollners daselbs. in
 die verslossen Truhen. so mir seiner Ku Mt Ambtman
 daselbs Zu Botzen. Hanns Abmstorffer/ oder wer der
 kunfftiklich ist. antwurt. legen sol. der seiner Ku
 Mt. alsdann dasselb gelt. Härlig auf seiner
 gnaden Raitcammer Zu Ynsprugk verraiten/ Vnd Zu
 derselben hannden ausrichten wirdet. dartzü dann
 der bemelt Irer gnaden Ambtman. auch Ich. als
 Zollner. vnd derselben seiner Mt. Gegenschreiber
 in derselben Ambthauss ſeder ein Slüssl. Zu Derselben
 Truhen haben sollen. Ich sol vnd wil auch an
 demselben Jrer Kü Mt. Zoll nichts entziehen. noch
 ſemand entziehen lassen. sonnder Jrer gnaden
 herlikait. gerechtikait. vnnd gewaltsam Dabey
 vestiklichen hanndhaben allenthalben seiner Mt
 nütz. vnd frümmen fürdern schaden wennden. Vnd sünst
 alles das tün. daz die notdurfft desselben seiner
 Ku Mt. Zolls erfordert Vnd ein getreuer Zollner Vnd
 diener. seinem herrn Zutün schuldig. vnd phlichtig
 ist/ in massen Ich seiner Ku Mt. darümb gelobt. vnd
 gesworn. Vnd mich des auch sonderlich gen seinen Ku

gnaden hiemit verschriben vnd verpürgt hab. Des Zu
Vrkhünd han ich disen brief mit meiner aigen hannd
geschriben. Vnd mein Jnsigl hiefür gedruckt
Beschehen an freitag vor sand Apolonien tag Anno
dominj. Fünfftzehenhundert Iar.

[4] Herrn Florian Waldauf von Waldenstein. vnd Frauen
Barbaran seiner Eelichen Hawsfrauen ^a Stiftbrief
antreffend die heylig Capellen vnser lieben frauuen
zu Hall im Yntal auch das Predigambt/ bede
Caplaneÿen/ das teglich gesungen Salüe regina/ vnd
Recordare virgo mater etc auch andern gotsdienst.
so Sy in sand Niclasen kirchen daselbst zu Hall im
Yntal. gestift vnd aufgericht haben. Nach Cristi
geburde Tawsendt fünfhundert vnd im Ersten Iar.

Thümbrebst Thümbdehandt. Vnd das Erwirdig Capitl zu
Brichsen. vnd Bürgermaister vnd Rat der Städte Hall
im Yntal vnd Insprügg. sind der obgemelten heyligen
Capellen. vnd aller Ordnungen Stifttungen vnd Sachen
in disem Stiftbrief begriffen. vnd darczu auch des
grossen heylthüms/ vnd der Bebstlichen Römischen
vnd ander Indulgentzen gnaden vnd Ablass. damit die
heylig Capellen begabt ist. ewige conseruatores
Executores volfuerer behalter vnd hanndhaber etc
Der Prediger. Caplan. Kirchbröbst. vnd Mesner. der
heyligen Capellen zu Hall im Yntal. sind diser
Ordnungen Stifttungen vnd Sachen ewige sollicitatores
maner vnd aufseher etc.

- 1 In dem namen der Heiligen vngetailten Driualtikait
got des Vaters. got des Süns. vnd got des heiligen
Geists. in ainem ainigen ewigen götlichen wesen
ainen daūon vnd daraus aller gewallt vnd mechtigkeit
alle güttat vnd volkomne gab. alle künst krafft.
Sterkh. vnd vbung zu güet gotliche gnad vnd

Parmhertzigkeit flewset. der drialittig in
 personen. einiger ewiger got in der Natür vnd wesen.
 durch sein Väterlichs ewigs wort den Sün gottes
 gleich Im. beschaffen hat. Himel vnd Erdtrich. vnd
 alle Creatür Zü offenbarung vnd erclerung seiner
 Maiestat glori vnd Eere götlichs wesen. auch Zü
 verordenter hilff/ nütz. trost. lust. vnd stettter
 vnderteniger diinstberkait Zü dienen dem Menschen.
 damit Er willigklicher mit ganntzem Hertzen vnd
 gmüt genaigt würde. gehorsam vnd dienst Zübeweisen.
 seinem Schöpfer der In vber alle Creatür gewirdiget
 vnd geadelt. vnd in seiner Schöpfung nach seiner
 gotlichen pildung vnd gleichnüss geformirt hat Also
 daz Im nit allain Irdisch Creatür. Sonnder auch
 himelische geist. die heiligen Enndl Zübehüetung vnd
 beschützung. von anfang seiner gepürd bis in sein
 letzt Ende Zugegeben sind/ vnd vber das alles. hat
 got der vater als besonnder lieb vnd vnaussprech-
 licher milltikait seinen Sün das ewig Väterlich
 wort/ am letzten Zü End der welt geschikht/ dem
 Menschen Züdienen. vnd nemlichen den weg der
 seligkeit durch sein hailsame götliche Lere Zü
 Lernen.

[--85 items--]

87 Es sol auch dartzü derselb Wochner/ auch ein yeder
 vorgerürter Briester/ alle Freytag das ganntz Jar/
 oder an ainem andern tag in yeder Wochen in seiner
 Mess vns obgemelt Stiffter vnd Stiffterin/ vnd aller
 vnser voruordern Seelen. auch all getrew fürdrer
 stewrer vnd hanndhaber vnser lieben fräwen Capellen
 vnd diser vnser Stiffitung lebentig vnd tod/ vnd
 dartzü all geläufig Seelen in seiner gedechtnüss
 haben/ vnd yeder für vns vnd dieselben in yeder
 Wochen ain mal ein gewöndliche Collecten/ nemlichen

Omnipotens sempiterne deūs/ qui viūorūm dominaxis
 simūl et mortūorūm etc einlegen/ vnd dartzū die
 obgemelt vnser lieben fraūen Capellen vnd vnsern
 gestiffften gotsdienst ordnūngē vnd stiftūngē/
 auch die obberürten Bebstlichen vnd annder
 Indūlgentzen gnaden vnd ablas/ vnd das merkhlich
 gross Heylthūmb/ vnd dartzū in sonderhait der
 Capellen handtraichūngē Zustend vnd gefelle/ in
 allen Iren Predigen peichthōren vnd annderswo mit
 allem getrewēn vleiss fūrdern vnd Befolhen haben/

88 Vnd für das alles. sol ein yeder kirchherr/
 denselben Siben gesellen/ auch allen Caplānen vnd
 Briesterschaft im Wydem/ vnd dartzū dem Schūel-
 maister/ alle freytag das gantz Iar daran nit
 panfast geüallen würden. auf Zwen Tisch im Widem.
 nemlichen auf yeden Tisch ain güete grosse auf-
 gesnitne Süppen/ ein güet gemüess/ vnd prots genüeg/
 vnd dartzū auch yedem Briester. vnd dem Schūel-
 maister ain Trincken güets weins haller mass/ für
 ein Collacion geben.

89 Aber an Freytagen in der Vasten. den Quattember
 Freytagen. vnd alsofft im Iar an freytagen Panfast
 geüallen würden. sol der kirchherr an yedem
 denselben freytagen/ yedem obbestimbten Briester.
 vnd auch dem Schuelmaister für ain Collacion geben/
 ain Trincken güts weins. vnd dartzū auf yeden
 obberürten Tisch/ für Zwen kretzter prot/ vnd über
 das alles. sol der kirchherr in sonderhait dem
 obbestimbten Wochner alle abent in seiner Wochen.
 Zu dem nachtmal oder Collacion. geben ain Trincken
 güets weins. bringt Im am freytag Zu der Collacion
 Zway Trincken wein. alles Haller mass. Welicher aber.
 oder welche aus den obberürten Briestern vnd

personen in obbestimbter Procession nit gewesen
w ren. vnd das obgemelt Respons vnd Antiffen in der
Capellen nit hetten singen verhellffen. dem. vnd
denselben. sol der kirchherr die obbestimbt Colla-
cion. auf denselben Freytag Z geben nit schuldig
seinn. Sy w ren dann auf dieselb St nd mit dem
Hochw rdigen Sacrament/ oder dem heiligen  l
ausgangnen/ oder mit der Tawff oder anndern
Ph rrlichen rechten vnd geschefften der kirchen
beladen gewesen/

90 Darumb vnd f r soliche obbestimpte speisung vnd
Collacion/ sol der Ersam Rat dem obgenanten kirch-
herrn alle Iar auf den heiligen Weichnachtabent
ausrichten vnd geben/ benantlichen Sechtzehn Marck
perner.

[--119 items--]

[5] Besonnder lieber Herr/ Ewre schreiben hab Ich
vernomen/ vnd die vom landsrechten Z   sterreich
werden durch dz Regiment Z  lynntz allen beschaid
haben/

So wirdet dem von Harrdegge/ auf sein [.....]
herniden beschaid/

.K. Mt. hat dz gescheft. Andreen von der D rr seins
pawshalben Zugelassen/ wie Er begert vnd Blasy
wirdet Euch dz furderlich Z  senden/

So will Ich den brief an den Cardinal sancte Crucis
furderlichen fertigen/ Vnd Euch Zu schicken dieweil
Ir den alwegen/ Durch den Sniter hinein bestellen
m gt

Graf Adolfs diener ist noch vnapgefertigt am hof/
Renners halben hab Ich Ew r schreiben nit verstanden/
In beswerungweise/ Vnd m gt Euch entlich Z  mir

versetzen dz Ich Euch alles dz tun will so Euch vnd
der Kantzley Zu Eer vnd nütz dienet/ Bit Euch mich
 etlich beuelhen zehaben/

Ku. Mt. hat etwas verdrieß/ dz herr Pauls so oft
 vrlaub begert/ seyt daran. als aus Euch selbs/ dz
 Er kain vnlust auf sich lad/ Ku. Mt. ist wol Zufrieden/
 Das Er Ytz gen freysingen reyt.

der von Wirtzburg ist abgefertigt/ Wie Ir ab
 hiebeßligenden copeyen vernemen werdet/ Nu hab Ich
 sunst kaine vnd bedarff der teglichs/ tut so wol.
 schickht mir die von stund wider auf der posst damit
 Ich die gewiss In v. tagen hab. <Ich will Euch die
 copeyen bey der nechsten post schickhen>

Wirtzburg hat sich mit der K. Mt. vertragen vnd
 iij^M gldn par geben vnd iij^M guldin schuld
 nachgelassn/ ist nu Zumal der Bairischen Hilf frey/
 <es ist In grossem geheim gehandelt>

Ich gedenck K. Mt. werde morgen hinweg/ vnd also hie
 vmb Iagen. vnd beleiben/ bis von dem von Wirtzburg
 antwort kummet/ Aber Ich versteet nit anders. dann
 Ku. Mt. werde gen augspurg/ Vnd da die sachen
 Richten/ Aber Zuuor gen Insprugg/

Herr Reinprecht von Reyhemburg hat Zu Ried bey vij^C
 pferden. vnd iij^M Zu fuss güter dienstleüt/ vnd Herr
 Adam dorringer mit prandt grossen schaden tan/
 nemen wz Sy finden/ Vnd werden ain Eerlichen kerab
 machen. Ich versich mich nit/ dz .K. Mt. dabey sein
 werde/

Ich hoff wir wellen noch mer fur dz Interesse
 Zuwegen bringen/ Das den landen hervnder auch
 gelegen sey/ Datum Gmunden an der Heiligen drey
 Kunig tag/ A. 5.

[6] Maximilian von gots gnaden Romisch Kunig Zuallenn-
tzeitten merer des Reichs etc

Getrewen lieben/ Nachdem der Catzenloer den Mössing
hanndl bißherz von vnns gehabt/ Auch Er die Mössing
hutten zu Mülein gepawen/ Vnnd mit Ime deßhalben von
vnnsnsern wegen kain Raittung beschehen ist/ Deßhalben
wir vntzher kain grüntlich vnnderrichtung gehabt
haben/ Sein wir dardürch gevrsacht worden/ solichs
mössungs hanndls halben mit gedachtem Catzenloer
enntliche Raittung thün Zulassen/ vnd den mössing
hanndl an ein Enndt Zustellen vnnd aufZürichten/ Danns
vnns aus etlichen vrsachen/ Die vnns furgefallen/
mercklich daran gelogen wil sein/ Vnnd Euch zu
solicher Raittung verordennt/ Demnach Emphehlen wir
Euch mit Ernnst vnnd wellen/ Das Ir gedachten Catzen-
loer auf einen Kurtz bestimbten tag. Nemlich nach
vber anntwurtung ditz briefs in Zehen tagen für Euch
erfordert Auch vnnsnser Zeugmaister Barthlmen
freyßleben dartzu nemet/ der dann bißher in derselben
sach gehanndl/ Vnnd darümb ain wissen hat/ Vnd mit
gedachtem Catzenloer des Mossinghanndls halben/ was
Er von vnns Kupffer vnd Mössing emphanngen/ Auch
welher massen/ Vnnd in was cossten Er die mössing
hutten zu Mülein gepaüt hab/ grüntlich raittung
thüet/ Vnnd auch von Ime aigentlich vernemet/ Wie Er
sich hinfuro mit dem mössing hanndl hallten welle/
Vnnd vnns solichs alles in schriff auf der posst
furderlichen Züschickhet/ Auch bestellet/ das
dieselben Ewre brief vnnserm Secretarien Marxen
Treitzsaurwein in sein hanndt gewißlich geanntwurt
werden/ Vnnd damit in dhainen weg nit vertziechet/
Damit wir weytter der notturfft nach dardürch der
mössing hanndl nit nidergelegt werde/ hänndl mugen/
Das ist vnnser Ernnstliche maynung/ Wir haben auch
vnnserm gemeltem Zeugmaister vnd dem Catzenloer

soliche raittung verkunndt vnnd Zugeschriben/
 Wollten wir Euch nit verhallten/ Geben Zu der Fe
 in Brabanndt am Sibenund Zwaintzigisten tag
 Septembris Anno domini etc xv^C vnnd im funfften
 vnnsers Reichs im Zwaintzigisten Iarn

Vnnsern getrewen lieben Ru^{ed}dolfen harber vnnserm Rat
 vnnd haußcamerer Zu Innsprügg Sigmunden Sprengen
 vnnserm phleger vnd Bräbst Zu Ombras. Vlrichen
 Moringer vnnserm Camermaister Zu Innsprügg Vnnd
 Gilgen fronnhaimer vnnserm Zollner Zu Rattemberg.

[7] Ich Marx Treitzsaurwein/ Romischer Kuniglicher
 Maiestat Secretarj/ Bekenn mit Diser meiner hanndts-
 schrift Das Ich/ Ku/ Mt Zugesagt hab/ das geschefft
 so sein Mt/ auf herrn paulsen von licchtenstain
 ausgeen hat lassen mit Hannsen von Stetten Zuhandln
 mit Zway hundert gulden Zugeben/ wider von herrn
 paulsen heraus Zubringen vnnd seiner Maiestat Zu
 Anntwurten/ Dann mir sein Mt vmb solich Zway
 hunndert gulden funftzig Zenntner Kuppfer
 verschaffen hat/ Zu vrkundt hab Ich mich auch mit
 meinem hanndzaichen vnder schriben/ Datum Zu
 Lynntz am funfften tag Januairy Anno etc im Sechsten
 Iar/

[8] Wir Maximilian etc Embieten allen vnnd jeglichen
 vnnsern häuptlaüten vnnd phlegern so diser vnnsen
 brief furkumbt vnnsen gnad vnnd alles guet/
 Nachdem Zwischen/ vnns/ vnnd den Hunngern/ ain
 Anstanndt Nemlich Achttag furgenomen der sich dann
 am nechstkunnftigen phintztag anfahen solle/ Vnnd
 dieweil aber nit aigenntlich wissend ist ob die
 Hungern den selben Anstanndt hallten werden oder
 nit/ Demnach Emphelhen wir Euch allen vnnd ainen
 Ieden in sonnderhait Ernnstlich/ ob die hunngern in

der Zeit/ oder nach Ausganng des Anstanndts in vnnser
 lannd Zü Ziechen vnnder steen/ oder darein Ziechen
 würden/ Das Ewr Ieder auf dem Sloss oder in der Stat
 Darynnen Er ist alsdann kreytschüss Nemlich drey
 schüss Zü stundan auf ain ander thue damit sich
 vnnser volckh versamel/ vnnd sich vor mercklichen
 schaden verf.... Jten mügen / Auch dem Vienden Irm
 furnemen ain abpruch gethan/ vnnd wider Zuruckh
 getriben/ vnnd habt in solichen <Ewr> sonnder gut
 vleissig auf sehen. Das vnnser volckh mit den
 Kreytschüssen Zu rechter Zeit gewarnet werden/ Das
 ist vnnser Ernnstlich maynung/ Geben Zu Wien am vij
 tag Iueli Ano xv^C vnd Im vj vnsers reichs Im xxi Iarn.
 Kn Mt beuelh ist das der von Serntein oder maister
 Vincentz diser brief xii sollen schreiben lassen/
 Also das die heut vmb xii vr fertig. sein vnd
 darnach Zu Stundan gen hof tragen/ so welle seine Mt
 die Zaichnen

[9] Maximilian von gots gnaden Romischer Kunig etc
 Getrewer/ Wir Empelhen Dir mit Ernnst/ das du
 mitsamt vnnserm Goldschmidt dem Benedieten von
 stundan Zü vnnser Rattemberg am Yn/ kumest/ vnd
 nit verziehest Daran tuest du vnnser Ernnstliche
 maÿnung/ Geben Zu Trawnstain am xij tag Decembris
 Anno etc Sexte/ vnnser Reichs im xxj Iarn.

[10] Allergnedigister Kunig. Es hat Herzog Heinrich von
 Braünswig der Elter. sein Cantzler vnd Marschalch
 ytz hie. bey mir gehebt/ vnd anzaigen lassen/ Er sey
 willig. des Reichs veldhäubtmanschaft anzenemen.
 Soferr Im .3. oder .4. C pferd gehalten. vnd Er vmb
 den sold vergwist werde/ aber an der Kriegscamer
 will Er sich nit settigen lassen/ wart deshalb
 antwort/ Nu acht Ich. Er were Zubewegen. Das Er mit

ij^C pferden als haubtman angenomen. Vnd vmb den sold.
 auf der Bischof vnd Stet lubegg Goszlar. Northawsen
 Mülhawsen. Hildeszheim. Münster osnabugg. vnd was
 vmb sein landtschaft ist/ hilf. vnd ansleg. Ytz Zü
 Costentz. aufgelegt/ verweist wurde/ dar Inn mag ewr.
 Ku. Mt. nach Irem gefallen handlen. vnd beuelch tün/
 Warlich wo es sunst. in seinem vermügen were da. an
 seiner person. Kain mangl. dann Er. als seine Ret
 sagen. lust vnd begird het/ bey Ewr. Ku. Mt. Zü
 sein/ Er wart anheim. auf mein ferrer schreiben/
 Beuich mich damit ewr. Ku. Mt. als meinem
 allergnedigisten herrn/ datum. Cölnn. am .x. tag
 Nouembris. Anno etc vij.

[11] Genediger Herr. mein willig geflissener dienst sein
 Euch Zuuor/ Alls Ir mir für gehallten habt/ Wie. Kay.
 Mt maynung sey/ Dieweil Ich also mit Krannckhait
 beladen sey mich von haus aus Zubestellen/ Auf solich
 furhallten hab Ich mich seyder bedacht/ vnnd kan nit
 in mir finden das Ich kain bestellung Zü diser Zeit
 von haus aus annemen muge/ Nemlichen aus den vrsachen
 Ich hab kain haußhaben/ so mag Ich kain haußhaben
 hallten dann Ich hab das Korn so mir Ietzo waxt vor
 ainem Iar in meiner Kranckhait geessen/ vnnd hab da
 haimet gar kain vnderhalltung dann Ich meine gueter
 scher alle versetzt vnd gar nichts mer hab/ Dann die
 Krannckhait hat mich an leib vnd guet verderbt/
 vnser Herr welle mich wider Reich machen/ Vnd
 solichem nach hab Ich mir den weg fur genomen/ mich
 bedunckht es were für Kay. Mt. vnd fur mich Nemlichen
 Ich wolt Ietzo gen Wienn Ziechen vnd daselbst ain
 Iar beleiben vnd das mir die. Kay. Mt. auf ain Iar
 Lang ij^C gulden bey dem Vitzthum Zü wienn verordent
 het/ Nemlich das Er mir hundert gulden alspald Ich
 hinab kome gäb vnd die andern hundert gulden in dem

halben Iar so möcht Ich mich dester mit mynder
 costenn auß hallten/ Wurde Ich dann in Demselben
 Iar von meiner Krannckhait gar erledigt so mocht
 mich Kay. Mt. prauchen nach. seiner Mt gefallen Wurde
 Ich dann nit gesundt/ so wolt Ich sehen vnd/ mich
 in die sach schickhen/ Das Kay. Mt. auch kainen
 weitern vncossten auf/ mich ausgäb/ Das sein. Mt.
 mich Ietzo mit den ij^C gulden nit laß Ich vermain
 sein Mt. solt damit nit beswert sein/ so verhof Ich
 Zu got ganntz Vngezweiflt Ich welle in demselben
 Iar gesundt werden/ Ich hab mir biß her den schaden
 gethan/ Das Ich albeg in xiiij tagen gesundt hab
 wellen werden/ Damit hab Ich mir nit Recht ausgewart
 als mir not/ gewest were/ Vnnd an Sannd Barthlmes
 Abend oder den anndern tag Darnach het Ich auf dem
 wasser ain guete fuer bis gen Passaw/ Damit beuelh
 Ich mich Euch als meinem gnedigen Herrn Datum Zu
 Mullein am xxx tag Iuly Anno etc xi Iar.

Item so mag mich Kay. Mt. in der Stat Wienn in
 seiner .Mt. sachen wol prauchen/ Damit were Ich auf
 das Kunfftig Iar gefertigt dem Ackher hab Ich alle
 mein abfertigung beuolhen Euch anzu zaigen/
Herrn Ziprian von Serntein Cantzler etc meinem
genedigen Herrn

LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS

[12] Das ist der fürwittich

1^r den Marx Treÿtzsäür-
 wein mit schriftt
 vnd gemäl in ordnung
 gestelt hat

Item an das Enndt ain gemäl/

1^v Ain Kunig der da sitzt in seiner

[12] .Mt. vnnd ain Iūnnckfrau
 kūniglich beklaidt/ die vor Ime
 steet/

Das gemäl ist nit
 gemacht

Hie hebt sich an das puech ge-
 2^r nannt Tewrdannck. vnd im
 anfang ist beschriben der
 kūnig Rūemreich. darnach
 sein Tochter Erenreich/ Vnd
 darnach der Thewrdannckh
 was Er mit seiner hanndt
 volpracht/ Vnd was wider-
 wārttigkait Er von drijen
 valschen häuptleuten. Mit-
 namen der Erst fürwittich.
 der ander Vnfallo der drit
 Neydelhardt. gehabt hat/
 Wie hernach volgt/

Ietz hebt sich an von
 kūnig Rūemreich

Vernemet das ain mächtiger Kūnig was
 der so gar in kūniglichen Eeren sasz
 Seins geleichen lebt hart in der Welt.

An Reichtümb vnnd parem gelt.
 großlannd vnd leüt het Er fürwar

In großem Reichtumb saß Er manige Jar.
 2^v sein lannd vnnd leüt Er wol Regiret
 Alsdann einem Kūnig pillich gepiret
 der kūnig von Rūemreich hieß Er
 Er het einen gemahl als Ich ler
 Bey der Er kainen Erben nit gewan

[12] dann ain tochter auf dise Welt schon
 dem kunig starb der gemahl sein
 darümb sein hertz lide swere pein
 Erlichen bestätet Er Sy Zu der Erdt
 Nun het der Edl kunig werdt
 die Ainig tochter vorgemelt
 Irs gleichen lebt hart in der welt
 damit Sy got sonderlich begabet het
 Die tochter weyßlichen paren tet.

3^r Sy was ganntz schon Züchtig vnd klüeg
 vernünfft vnd weyßheit het Sy genüg
 In allen tügentalen gar wol gethan
 der Eren ain hochwirdige Cron.
 Sy was geschickt in manicher sach
 Nun wardt der Künig alt vnnd swach
 der Kunig von Rüemreich vorgenannt
 Merckt wie sein herrschaft/ in seinem landt
 Mit bit. den Kunig strengenget an.
 das Er seiner tochter lobesan.
 verheiraten solt als gotlichen was
 dardürch seine landt vnd leüt destpas
 versehen würden nach pillichait
 Vil werber würden da dem kunig berait

Item an das Enndt ain gemäl
 3^v das ain kunig mit seinen Räten
 ainen großen Rat halt/
 Das gemäl ist nit gemacht

Wie der kunig Ruemreich
 4^r sein tochter Erenreich
 Zuüberheiraten ainen Rat samelt
 Der Künig samelt Ainen Rat
 vnd sagt Inen Zu der selben fart
 Wie oft Er würde gestrenget an

[12] seiner tochter Zü geben ainen Man
 damit versehen würde das gantz Reich
 darümb Ratet mir alle gleich
 vnd bedenckt Euch mit guetem hertzen
 Es ist hier Innen ganntz nit Zü schertzen
 Als Ir mir verphlicht vnd verpünden seÿt
 Vnd wellet nit präuchen güet oder Neid
 Sy sagten alle mit einer styme
 das würde präuchen weyße Sÿnne/

Sy wolten thün nach Irn verstanndt
 4^V was Nutz were dem ganntzen lanndt
 Mit trewen wolten Sÿ das Erwegen
 Vnnd Irn trewen Rat darzü geben
 Sÿ teten mit allen vleis betrachten
 Ee Sÿ ainen Ratschlag machten
 Sÿ waren weyß vnd darzü klueg.
 der Werber vmb die tochter waren genüg
 Sy gaben dem kunig Irn Ratschlag Zü erkennen
 Vnnd teten Ime Zwelf personnen nennen
 der Ieder were an Adel groß
 Auch Ieder seiner tochter genosz
 daraus solle der kunig Er kießen
 Zü Welhem sein hertz tet fliessen/

Das sollt Er Inen alsdann verkündten
 5^r so möcht man darnach weiter Rat findten
 Der kunig bedacht sich gar wol.
 Wie dann ain weyßer man thün sol.
 Er was in der wal ganntz Irrig
 vnnd sein hertz haimlichen vnrüeig
 Er het geren den pessten erwelet
 das der selb nach Ime würde gezelet
 Ain adenlicher vnnd Thewrman
 das sein tochter damit möcht bestan

[12] der kunig alda nichts beschlosz
 Die sach was Ime Insonderheit groß
 Er Redt Ich wils Ietz got lassen walten
 vnd solichs in meiner gedachtnüs behalten
 Vnnd so got mir schickt mein letste stundt
⁵ alsdann solle aus sprechen mein Mündt
 Welhen Ich meiner tochter erkieset han
 derselbe solle sein Ir Eelicher Man
 Item an das Enndt/ ain gemäl
 das ain kunig in ainem garten
 bey ainem graben vor ainer
 Stat ligt in seinen harnasch
 vnd stirbt/ Vnd vil volk bey
 Ime ist/ Zu Roß vnd fueß
 Das gemäl ist nit gemacht
 [---]

[13] Hie hebt sich an das puech genannt
¹ Thewrdannckh/ vnd im anfanng
 ist begriffen/ Der Kung Ruemreich
 Darnach sein tochter Ern reich/ vnd
 Dar nach der Thewr dannckh/ was
 Er mit seiner hanndt volpracht/ vnd
 was wider warttigkait Er von
 Diesen valschen hauptleuten
 Mitnamen/ Der Erst furwittich
 Der annder vnfallo Der Drit Neidl
 hardt gehabt hat/ wie hernach
 aus dem gemal vnd geschrifft
 vernomen wirdt

Rot Ietzo hebt sich an Kung Ruemreich
 Vernemet Das ain mechtiger Kung
 was/ der so gar in Kungcliher Ern saß

[13] seines gleichs lebet hart in der Welt
 An Reichtumb schain vnd parem gelt
 groß lannd vnd leut hat Er furwar
 In grossem Reichtumb saß Er mang. Iar
 sein land vnd leüt Er gantz wol regiret
 als ainem weisen Kung pillichen gepuret
 Der Edl Kung von Ruemreich hieß Er
 Er het ainen lieben gemahl als Ich ler
 bey der Er kainen Mans Erben nit gewan
 Dann ain tochter auf diese welt schon
 Dem Kung starb der lieb gemahl sein
 Darümb sein hertz lide sonder swere pein

Erlichen bestatet Er Sy Zu der Erdt
 3^r Nun het der obgedacht Edl Kunig werdt
 Die Ainig sonderlich schon tochter vorgemelt
 Ires geleichen lebet hart in der welt
 Damit Sy got Insonders begabet het
 Die tochter got weißlichen pären tet
 Sy was gantz schon Züchtig vnd Klüeg
 vernünfft vnnd weißheit het Sy genüeg
 In allen tugendten gar wol gethan

Der Eren ain sondere hoch wirdige Cron
 Sy was geschickht in manicher sach
 Nun wardt der Kunig Allt vnd swach
 Der Kunig von Rüemreich vorgenant
 Merckht wie sein herrschaft in seinem lanndt
 Mit großem bete. den Künig strenget an
 Das Er sein Zarte tochter gar lobesan
 verheiraten solt. als gotlichen was
 Dardurch seine lannd vnd leüt destpas
 versehen vnd versorgt wurden nach pillichait
 vil werber würden da dem Kunig bereit

Ietzo ein halb plat lär

[13] Wie der Kunig Rüemreich sein tochter
 Rot Erenreich Zuuerheiraten ainen Rat samelt

3^V Der Kunig samelt gar pald ainen Rat
 vnnd sagt Inen Zu derselben fart
 Wie oft Er würde von Inen gestrenget an
 seiner lieben tochter Zügeben ainen Man/
 Damit versehen wurde das ganntz Reich
 Darumb Rattet mir in trewen alle geleich
 vnnd bedennckht Euch mit guetem hertzen
 Es ist hier Innen ganntz nit Zü schortzen
 als Ir mir verphlicht vnd verpunden seyt
 vnnd wellet nit prauchen guet oder Neidt
 Sy sagten alle mit einer Styme
 das wurde prauchen weyße Synne
 Sy wolten thün nach Irm verstanndt
 was Nutz were dem ganntzen lanndt
 Mit trewen wolten Sy das Er wegen
 vnnd Iren trewen Rat darZü geben
 Sy teten mit allen vleiss betrachten
 Ee Sy ainen entlichen Ratschlag machten
 Sy waren weyß und darZü klüeg
 Der werber vmb die tochter waren genüg
 Sy gaben dem Kunig Irm Ratschlag Zuerkennen
 vnnd teten Ime Zwelf personnen nennen
 der Ieder were An Adl vnd tugent groß

4^r Auch Ieder seiner lieben tochter genoß
 Daraus solle der Kunig selbs Er kießen
 Zu welhem sein hertz saget vnd tet fließen
 Das solt Er Inen alsdann ver kündten
 So mocht man darnach weiter Rat finden
 Der Kunig bedacht sich selbs gar wol

[13] Wie dann ain weißer Man thün soll/
 Er was in der Wal ganzt Irrig
 vnnd sein hertz haimlichen gar vnrüeig
 Er het geren daraus den pessten erwelet
 das derselb nach Ime auch wurd geZelet
 Ain Adennlicher vnnd Thewrer man
 das sein tochter damit möcht bestan
 der Kunig alda ganzt nichts beschloß
 die sach was Ime In sonnderhait groß
 Er Redt Ich wils Ietz got lassen walten
 vnd solichs in meiner gedachtnis behalten
 vnnd so got mir schickht mein letste stündt
 Alsdann solle aussprechen mein Mundt
 Welhen Ich meiner tochter erkießet han
 derselb solle sein Ir Eelicher Mann
 Jetzo ain halb plat lär
 [---]
 [14] Ein schöne Disputatz. Von der
 Liebe. so einer gegen einer schönen
 fräwen gehabt vnd getan hat
 XXII^{v/a} Mÿnne waltet grosser krafft:
 Wann sy wirt sighafft:
 an thumber vnd weÿsen:
 an alten vnd greÿsen:
 an Armen vnd an reichen:
 gar gewaltigklichen:
 bezwang Sy einen Iüngeling:
 daz Er alle seine ding:
 muesset mit gewalt ergeben:
 Vnd nach Irem gepote leben:
 So daz Er Zemassee ein weÿb:
 durch schone synne:
 vnd durch Irm leÿb:

[14] mÿnnen begunde:
 da sy im des nicht begunne:
 daz Er Ir were vnndertan:
 Sy sprache er solte Sÿ erlan:
 [--14 lines--]
 Owe hertze vnd dein sÿn
 werest du icht annders denn ich bin:
 du hettet wol verschuldet vmb mich:
 daz ich klaget über dich:
 allen den ich des getraw:
 daz sÿ mein schad geraw:
 daz sy mich rechen an dir:
 vnd wie es dartzü stat mir:
 Zwar ich töt dir den todt.
 vnd gulte dir alle solhe not:
 die du mir offt bringest:
 Wann du mich laÿder Zwingest:
 mit deiner kreffte wes du wil:
 Wann des gewaltes ist souil:
 des dir an mir verlassen ist:
 daz mir kaines mannes list:
 fride daruor mag gegeben:
 Ich muesse in deinem gewalte leben:
 daz ich dem nicht enntwencken mag:
 des gewÿnne ich manigen schwären tag:
wann dich wil nicht genüegen:
 wes du mir magst zügefüegen:
 nach geender rew:
 das ist ein vntrew:
 seÿdt du in mir gehauset hast:
 vnd dein ding an mir begast:
 die vnder Ir vnd freüden missezimpt:
Wann Sÿ mir die freude gar benÿmbt:
 [--314 lines--]

[14]

XXIII^{r/c} Mochte ich nu wissen das:
 waou ich deinen hass:
 von ersten gearnet hette:
 Vil gernne ich dich pâte:
 das du es durch got verkürest:
 vnd vnns baide nicht verlürest:
 Wann es dir schaden begÿnnet:
 wann mir dein Zerÿnnet:
 wer sol den streit nu schaiden:
 vnnder vnns baiden:
 Wann dü thû es durch gotes Eere:
 vnd richt dich nicht sere:
 hab ich dir icht getan:
 des lass mich dir Ze pusses stan:
 vnd richte selbs ^âber mich:
 so Eerest du dich:
 Du magst mich gerne emphahen:
 la dir nicht verschmahren:
 meine dienst vnd mein freûtschafft:
 vnd dünck mich sölher krafft:
 vnd mit solhen dingen:
 die ich müg volbringen:
 so diene ich dir als ich sol:
 vnd kumet vnns baiden auch wol:
 [---]

[15] Ditz ^âpüechel haysset die getrew Kone.
 CCXVII^{r/a} Wir ^âsullen von lieben dingen sagen.
 Vnd laider märe gar gedagen.
 Wann sy tünd wee dem hertzen gar.
 ich han alle meine Iar.
 mit laiden mären heer verzert.
 dauon Ich freûden bin beheert.

[15] Wann gute märe machen fro.
 die leiden han getan mir so.
 daz ich Ir willikliche empier.
 wo die wal stat an mir.
 da wel ich daz mir rechte kümpt.
 Vnd mich an meinen freüden frümbdt.
 Nu ist das mein maists layd.
 daz mir die wal ist gar versait.
 seyt mir niemand nicht wil sagen.
 daz mir von recht müge behagen.
 so bin aber Ich so wolgemüt.
 daz ich vil lieber sage güt
 daz daz mir nicht gezäm
 vnd yemand sein freude ném.
 dauon wil ich ein mare sagen.
 daz euch von rechte müss behagen.
 Hie hebt sich an das püechel
 Ein Reütter het ein schön weyb.
 die was im lieb als sein leib.
 das was billich Ir schöne was.
 durchlechtig als ein spiegl glas.
 dartzü was sy den vollen güt.
 wo ein weib ist so gemüt.
 daz sy beÿ schöne güete hat.
 der leib billich Ze loben stat.
 die raine was so erber.
 daz Ir man kain hertzen swär.
 von den dingen nie gewan.
 dauon möcht er Sy gern han.
 Sy was an Züchten so volkommen.
 daz nie nicht ward von Ir vernomen.
 daz man für vnzucht möchte han.
 darumb was auch lieb Ir man.

[15] Sy pot es seinen freunden wol.
 den gesten als ein frümb weib sol.
 Ir wirt was an dem leibe ein man.
 daz er was nicht so wol getan.
 als er es gern het gesehen.
 von Im wil ich der warhait iehen.
 Er was gerumphen vnd klain.
 der reütter vor den leüten schain.
 als es wer hundert Iaralt.
 daz es doch nicht gegen Ir entgalt.
 Er daucht sy schöner als Absolon.
 vnd stercher dann Sampson.
 in Irem hertzen ward nie man.
 den Sy für In wolte han.
 das machet Ir grosse frümbkait.
 das annder Er was gar bereit.
 Zu alle die das ſümmer man.
 an allen eren mag began.
 das tet er alles vßliliklich.
 als ob Er wär ein Käyser rich.
 gewesen vnd ein der schöneste man.
 den alle die welt ye gewan.
 willig seines mütes.
 seines leibes seines gütens.
 Was er gar den vnndertan.
 an den Eere solte began.
 dauon ward sein vnflétikait
 in allen lannden hingelait.
 Nu kam es nach gewonhait.
 Das dem Reütter ward gesait.
 Von ainem Vrlauge gros.
 [---]

[16] Das puech ist von dem Mayr Helmprechte
 CCXXV r/b Ainer sagt was Er gesicht.
 der annder sagt was Im geschicht.
 der dritt von mÿnne.
 der Vierd von gewynne.
 der fünfft von grossem güte.
 der Sechst von hohem müte.
 Hie wil ich sagen was mir geschach.
 daz ich mit meinen augen sach.
 Ich sach das ist sicherlichen war.
 eines gepaurn Sün der trüg ein har.
 das was raide vnde fal.
 ob der achsel hin Ze tal.
 mit lennge es volliklichen gie.
 in ein hauben er es vie.
 die was von pilden wähe.
 Ich wän yemand gesehe.
 so manigen Vogl auf haüben.
 Sytteche vnde taüben.
 die waren alle darauf genäet.
 Welt Ir nu hören was da stät.
 Ein Mayr der hiess Helemprecht.
 des Sün was derselbe knecht.
 Von dem das märe ist erhaben.
 sam den Vater nennet man den knaben.
 Sy bede hiessen Helmprecht.
 mit einer kurtzen rede schlecht.
 Kündе ich euch das märe.
 was auf der haüben wäre.
 Wunders erzeuget.
 das märe euch nicht betreuget.
 Ich sag es nicht nach wane.
 hinden von dem spane.
 nach der schaitel gegen dem schopfe.

[16]

CCXXV^{r/c} Recht enmitten auf dem Kophe.
 der Lün mit Voglen was bezogen.
 recht als sy ⁸wären geflogen.
 aus dem Specht harte.
 auf gepauren swarte.
 kam nie pesser haube tach.
 dann man auf Helmprechte sach.
 demselben geßtoren
 was gegen dem Zeswen oren.
 auf die hauben benæet.
 Welt Ir nu horen was da stet.

[--800 lines--]

CCXXVII^{r/b} Ir solt füllen vnns den maser.
 ein äffe vnd ein narre waser.
 der ye geseut seinen leib.
 für guten wein vmb ein weib.
 Wer liegen kan der ist gemait.
 triegen das ist hofischait.

[---]

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Tischreden, I (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1912), 524-25; all references to this edition of Luther's works are hereafter cited as WA (Weimarer Ausgabe).

2. Jakob Grimm, Vorreden zur Deutschen Grammatik von 1819 und 1822, ed. Hugo Steger (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1968), pp. 36-37.

3. See Glenn Elwood Waas, The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), chs. 4, 5, 7.

4. Cf. Hans Eggers, Das Frühneuhochdeutsche, Vol. III of Deutsche Sprachgeschichte (Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1969), p. 29:

So jedenfalls ist in Frankreich und in England die Entwicklung verlaufen. Die von den altfranzösischen und den mittelenglischen Dichtern in Wechselwirkung mit den Kanzleien und Schreibstuben geprägte Kultursprache wurde zur sicheren Grundlage aller weiteren sprachlichen Entwicklung. Auch in den Niederlanden legte der gelehrte Dichter JACOBUS VAN MAERLANT (ca. 1225-1291), der gleichzeitig Stadtschreiber, d.h. Vorsteher der städtischen Kanzlei in Damme war, den Grund, auf dem die niederländische Kultursprache erblühte.

5. See Christel Schulte, "Gibt es eine oberdeutsche Form des Frühneuhochdeutschen?" in Zur Entstehung des Neuhochdeutschen, ed. Ilpo Tapani Piirainen (Bern and Frankfurt a. M.: Herbert Lang and Peter Lang, 1972), pp. 31-56.

6. Leo Santifaller's article, "Bericht über die Regesta Imperii," AAWien, 106 (1969), 299-331, gives a brief history of the efforts that have been made to prepare complete regesta of the diplomatic documents of the Holy Roman Empire from its beginning forward. Various scholars have or have had the responsibility for preparing the regesta for individual periods. Hermann Wiesflecker and his colleagues at the University of Graz are currently involved with the preparation of the Maximilian regesta.

7. Hans Moser, Die Kanzlei Kaiser Maximilians I.: Graphematisches Schreibabusus, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Germanistische Reihe, Vol. 5, Innsbruck, 1977, Pts. I-II.

8. Elaine C. Tennant, "The Habsburg Chancery Language (1440-1519)," Diss. Harvard 1977.

9. The 1517 Schönperger edition of Maximilian's Theuerdank and the 1537 edition of Johann Eck's so-called Ingolstadt Bible (see note 41) are examples of such works.

10. Joseph Chmel, ed., Urkunden, Briefe und Actenstücke zur Geschichte Maximilians I. und seiner Zeit (Stuttgart: K. Fr. Hering & Comp., 1845). This was about the only published source of materials from Maximilian's chancery available during the nineteenth century. Also see note 108.

11. Friedrich Maurer, "Zur vor- und frühdeutschen Sprachgeschichte," DU, 3 (1951), 5-20.

12. R. E. Keller's The German Language (New Jersey: Humanities Press Inc., 1978) is a particularly fortunate example of this development.

CHAPTER 1

13. Virgil Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung in die frühneuhochdeutschen Schriftdialekte (Halle a. d. Saale: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1909), p. 14:

Aber schon unter [...] Friedrich III. (1439-93) vollzog sich ein volliger umschwung. Tief im Bayrischen sprachgebiet, zu Gratz, lag die hauptkanzlei; kein wunder, dass wir hier fast alle jene züge, die uns schon bei Ludwig d. Bayern entgegengetreten sind, wiederfinden, wobei sich die herzoglichen und kaiserlichen urkunden in nichts voneinander unterscheiden.

In a statement discussed in the section "Frederick III and the Habsburg Chancery Language" in this chapter, Eggers (note 4) presents quite a different view of Frederick's chancery language (pp. 139-41). He argues that Frederick's Imperial chancery in Vienna and his House chancery at Graz functioned independently of each other and produced different varieties of written German. Neither Moser's nor Eggers' statement indicates a very thorough knowledge of the operations of the Habsburg chanceries. In this period the court and the chancery were closely associated with each other and with the person of the Emperor. At various times during his long reign, Frederick III was in residence at Wiener Neustadt, Vienna, and Linz, but he preferred Graz and often spent years at a time there. Because of Frederick's presence in Graz, both House and Imperial affairs were conducted by the Graz chancery. For this reason the Graz chancery should properly be considered Frederick's "hauptkanzlei." See chapter 2 for a detailed examination of chancery structure and operations. For further information on the functioning of Frederick's court and chancery at the various cities of his residences see Fritz Popelka, Geschichte der Stadt Graz, I (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1959), 63; Josef Mayer, Geschichte von Wiener Neustadt, 2 pts. in 3 vols. (Wiener Neustadt: Selbstverlag des Magistrats Wiener Neustadt, 1924-27), II, 100-14; and Karl Gutkäs, Geschichte des Landes Niederösterreich (St. Pölten: Niederösterreichisches Pressehaus Druck- und VerlagsgesmbH, 1974), p. 131.

14. These are the works to which I refer. The dates given in parentheses are, unless otherwise noted, those of the first editions in order to enable one to trace questions of possible influence. As working editions, however, I have used the latest available to me. These dates are given in square brackets. Complete documentation appears in the bibliography.

Jakob Grimm, Deutsche Grammatik (1819); Karl Müllenhoff, Denkmäler [. . .] (1864, 2nd ed.); Wilhelm Scherer, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (1868); Heinrich Rückert, Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache (1875); Konrad Burdach, Die Einigung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache (1884); Otto Behaghel, Die deutsche Sprache (1886) [1968]; Friedrich Kluge, Von Luther bis Lessing (1888) [1888, 1918]; Adolf Socin, Schriftsprache und Dialekte im Deutschen (1888); Karl von Bahder, Grundlagen [. . .] (1890); Otto Behaghel, "Geschichte der deutschen Sprache" (1891); Sigmund Feist, Die deutsche Sprache (1906) [1933]; Virgil Moser, Historisch-grammatische Einführung [. . .] (1909); Emil Gutjahr, Die Anfänge der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache [. . .] (1910); Hermann Hirt, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (1919); Friedrich Kluge, Deutsche Sprachgeschichte (1920); Hans Naumann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatursprachen (1926); Adolf Bach, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (1938) [1970]; Wolfgang Jungandreas, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (1947); Hugo Moser, Deutsche Sprachgeschichte (1950) [1969]; John Waterman, A History of the German Language (1966); Hans Eggers, Das Frühneuhochdeutsche (1969); Wilhelm Schmidt et al., Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (1969) [1970]; Fritz Tschirch, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (1969); Johannes Erben, "Frühneuhochdeutsch" (1970); Peter von Polenz and Hans Sperber, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache (1970, 7th ed.); Hans Rupprich, Das ausgehende Mittelalter [. . .] (1970); R. E. Keller, The German Language (1978).

15. See Hans Rupprich, Das ausgehende Mittelalter, Vol. IV, Pt. 1 of Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, ed. Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1970), p. 412.

16. Ernst Martin, rev. of Das Leben des Heiligen Hieronymus in der Übersetzung des Bischofs Johannes VIII. von Olmütz, ed. Anton Benedict, ADA, 6 (1880), 313-17; Hermann Paul, "Gemeindeutsch," BGDSL, 12 (1887), 558-60; Arno Schirokauer, "Zur Bedeutung von 'Gemeindeutsch,'" PMLA, 63 (1948), 717-19; and Stanley Werbow, "Die gemeine Teutsch," ZDP, 82 (1963), 44-63.

17. Werbow (note 16), p. 48.

18. Werbow (note 16), p. 50. Also see Friedrich Ranke, "Ulrich von Pottenstein," VL, 3 (1943), cols. 921-22. The context in which this statement appears supports Werbow's reading of it.

19. Cod. Vind. 12460, Suppl. 109, fols. 1-91^r, 1464.

20. Erika Bauer, ed., Heinrich Haller Übersetzungen im "gemeinen Deutsch" (1464), Litterae, Göppinger Beiträge zur Textgeschichte, Vol. 22, Göppingen, 1972, pp. 7-9.

21. Martin (note 16), p. 316.

22. Paul Pietsch, Martin Luther und die hochdeutsche Schriftsprache (Breslau: Verlag von Wilhelm Koebner, 1883), pp. 16-19.

23. Pietsch (note 22), p. 18.

24. Bauer's (note 20) identification of Heinrich Haller as the 1464 translator may now make it possible to determine what he intended with the phrase "zuo ainer schlechten gemainen theutsch [pringen]." The Heinrich Haller manuscripts afford a rare opportunity to investigate an individual's written language. Haller's holographic draft of his translation, his holographic fair copy, and a contemporary copy of the translation in another hand have all survived. See Bauer for description and discussion of these manuscripts.

25. See Bauer (note 20), pp. 7-8.

26. Schirokauer (note 16), pp. 717-19.

27. Schirokauer (note 16), pp. 717-18.

28. Conrad Gesner, Mithridates (Zurich: [Christophorus] Froschoverus, 1555), fol. 37^V. According to Konrad Burdach's Die Einigung der neuhighdeutschen Schriftsprache (Leipzig: J. B. Hirschfeld, 1884), p. 21, n. 27, the Gesner phrase appeared unchanged on fol. 42^r of the 1610 edition.

29. Josua Maaler, Die Teutsch spraach (Zurich: Christophorus Froschouerus, 1561), "Praefatio," fol. 4^v. I quote here directly from Maaler. Schirokauer in regularizing the Maaler text has been somewhat inaccurate. The original reads:

Porrò cùm diuersae sint dialecti linguae Germanicae, aliae plus, aliae minus inter se differunt: quaedā adeò, ut se inuicem colloquentes non intelligant: cù in pronunciatione ferè solùm & paucis literis mutatis discrimen existat. Ex his illam qua superiores Germani utūtur, aliqui optimè & precipuā, minime; corruptā esse iudicant. Sunt qui tractui circa Lipsiam elegantioris sermonis (quo Lutherus etiā libros suos condiderit) primas deferant: alij potiùs Augustanis, alij Basiliensium linguam magna ex parte probant. A nostra quidem, id est, superioris Germanicae, & ueluti cōmuni Germanica lingua, quantum & in quibus diuersae dialecti differant, pluribus in Mithridate nostro ostendi [. . .].

30. Schirokauer (note 16), p. 718.

31. Burdach (note 28), pp. 20-21.

32. Christel Schulte (note 5) reviews the regional languages as described by Virgil Moser, Mirra Guchmann, Werner Besch, and Emil Skála in the section of her article entitled "Abgrenzung und Einteilung des oberdeutschen Sprachraumes" (pp. 37-47).

33. Although V. Moser, Guchmann, and Besch each view the written languages of the dialectal transition zones somewhat differently, they are unanimous in identifying the written language of the southeastern (Austro-Bavarian) region as one of the distinctive varieties of German written during the period under consideration. Their analyses of the regional written languages are reviewed by Schulte (note 5), pp. 37-47.

34. Karl Müllenhoff and Wilhelm Scherer, "Vorrede zur zweiten Ausgabe," Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa, 3rd ed. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1892), pp. XXIX-XXX. The pagination is from the second (1864) edition.

35. Heinrich Rückert, Geschichte der neuhighdeutschen Schriftsprache (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1875), II, 182.

36. Burdach (note 28).

37. Burdach (note 28), pp. 1-2.

38. See notes 28-29.

39. Hans Volz reminds the reader that Eck's Bible was neither printed in Ingolstadt nor in Bavarian (Vom Spätmittelhochdeutschen zum Frühneuhochdeutschen [Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1963], pp. XXII-XXIII, nn. 59, 61):

Gegenüber der von Keferstein (und auch noch von F. Kluge Von Luther bis Lessing [...] und von Vogel [...] vertretenen irrgen Auffassung, daß Ecks Bibel bayrisch gefärbt sei, wiesen E. Schröder [...] und M. H. Jellinek nachdrücklich darauf hin, daß diese Bibel in Schwaben (Augsburg, nicht Ingolstadt) gedruckt und der Grundcharakter der Sprache Ecks schwäbisch sei. (n. 59)

This is pertinent to research on Eck's written language but has no direct bearing on the present investigation. For the sake of simplicity I continue to refer to the first (1537) edition of Eck's translation by its popular title, "The Ingolstadt Bible." See note 41.

40. Friedrich Kluge, Von Luther bis Lessing (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1888), p. 28.

41. Johann Eck, BJbel: Alt vnd new Testament (Ingolstadt: Görg Krapf, 1537), Dedication ("Vorrede"), n. pag. For further information concerning this edition see Theodor Wiedemann, Dr. Johann Eck, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Ingolstadt (Regensburg: Verlag von Friedrich Pustet, 1865), pp. 615-25. When Kluge quotes this passage (note 40, p. 29), he alters the orthography considerably and makes minor omissions.

42. Friedrich Kluge, Von Luther bis Lessing, 5th ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von Quelle & Meyer, 1918), pp. 34-35.

43. "Unter Maximilian begann aber nicht nur die Regelung, sondern auch die Ausbreitung einer modernen Sprache" (note 42, p. 35).

44. Adolf Socin, Schriftsprache und Dialekte im Deutschen nach Zeugnissen alter und neuer Zeit (Heilbronn: Verlag von Gebr. Henninger, 1888), pp. 169-70.

45. Moser (note 13), p. 26

46. Emil A. Gutjahr, Die Anfänge der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache vor Luther (Halle a. d. Saale: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1910), p. 176.

Das soziale 'mittelste dûtsch', das im XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert als Geschäfts- und Kanzleisprache, aber auch als Literatursprache sich 'in me lande zu Sachsen' überall Geltung verschafft, ist zunächst die obersächsische Sprache des ostmitteldeutschen Stadtadels z. B. zu Halle und zu Prag, in der Zukunft aber auch die hochdeutsche (md.-obd.) Sprache der allgemein 'sechsischen Cantzelei', d. i. die gemeindeutsche Sprache sowohl der Kanzleien der Kaiser aus luxemburgischem (bes. Karls IV.), aus bayrischem (bes. Ludwigs des Bayern) und aus Österreichischem (bes. Maximilians I.) Hause, aber, nach Luthers Angabe, auch aller übrigen Fürsten und Städte in Deutschland.

47. Hans Naumann, Geschichte der deutschen Literatursprachen (Leipzig: Verlag von Quelle & Meyer, 1926), p. 22. "Zum Unterschied von der ahd. und mhd. Kultursprache ist der Charakter der neuen zunächst ein gemeinsprachlicher, amtlicher, praktischer, erst in zweiter Linie ein literatursprachlicher."

48. Adolf Bach, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, 9th ed. (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1970).

49. Eggers (note 4).

50. Keller (note 12).

51. Some of Maximilian's literary projects are discussed in conjunction with the manuscript production of Treytsaurwein and Ried in chapter 3.

52. Fritz Tschirch, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, II (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1969), 92-93.

53. Cf. Grimm (note 2) quoted in my introduction, and Eggers (note 4), p. 187.

54. See, for example, Ludwig Erich Schmitt, "Zur Entstehung und Erforschung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache," ZMF, 12 (1936), 208. Also see the introduction to his Die deutsche Urkundensprache in der Kanzlei Kaiser Karls IV. (1346-1378) (Halle a. d. Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1936).

55. John T. Waterman, A History of the German Language (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), p. 117.

56. Eggers (note 4), p. 152.

57. Wilhelm Schmidt et al., Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag, 1970), pp. 95-97.

58. Keller (note 12).

59. Ernst Wülcker, "Lautegentümlichkeiten des Frankfurter Stadtdialects im Mittelalter," BGDSL, 4 (1877), 9.

60. Otto Behaghel, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, 5th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1928), p. 190.

61. Sigmund Feist, Die deutsche Sprache, 2nd ed. (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1933), p. 175.

62. Walter Henzen, Schriftsprache und Mundarten, 2nd ed. (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1954), p. 50.

63. Ferdinand Jančar, "Das Kanzleiwesen unter Maximilian I.," Prüfungsarbeit, MS, Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, University of Vienna, 1897, p. 7.

64. Peter von Polenz and Hans Sperber, Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, 7th ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970), p. 76.

65. Ernst Wülcker, "Die Entstehung der kursächsischen Kanzleisprache," ZVThürG, n.s., 1 (1879), 349-76.

66. Chmel (note 10).

67. Kluge (note 42), pp. 30-31.

68. — Cass, "Theodor Bibliander (Buchmann)," ADB, 2 (1875), 612.

69. Theodor Bibliander, De ratione communi omnium linguarum & literarū (Zurich: Christophorus Froschoverus, 1548), p. 27.

70. Fabian Frangk, Orthographia, in Quellenschriften und Geschichte des deutschsprachlichen Unterrichtes bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts, ed. Johannes Müller (Gotha: Verlag von E. F. Thienemann's Hofbuchhandlung, 1882), p. 93. Further references to Frangk's Orthographia are to Müller's edition of the 1531 text.

Concerning the desirability of a complete German grammar, Frangk writes:

DAs wir Deutschen/ neben andern Nation jnn vnser sprache/
nicht so gantz vngeschickt befunden würden/ hab ich den
jungen deutscher zung/ vngeübten/ vnd den recht regulirts
deutschs liebhabern/ diesen kurzen vnderricht/ zur
anweisung/ sich darinnen zuüben/ fürschreiben wollen/ Wie
wols on schaden/ ja meins bedunkens/ hoch von nöten/ weer/
Das ein gantze Grammatica hierinn beschrieben würd/ wie
Jnn Krichischer/ Latinischer vnd andern sprachen gescheen/
Denn so wir ansehen den emssigen vleis/ so die Latiner
allein/ Jnn Jrer zungen fürgewandt/ vnd vnsern vnuleis/
bey der vnsern/ da gegen stellen/ solten wir billich
schamrot werden/ das wir so gantz ablessig vnd sewmig
sein/ Vnser edle sprach so vnwert vnd verachtlich halten/
Weil sie dennach jhe so lustig nützlich vnd tapffer jnn
Jrer red mass/ als jndert ein andere befunden wird/

71. Frangk (note 70), p. 94.

72. Socin (note 44), p. 165.

73. "Maximilian I. (1493-1519) baut nur wenig an dieser sprache weiter. [. . .] So können wir das hohe lob, welches ihm und seinem kanzler Ziegler gerade wegen seiner orthographischen reform-bestrebungen, schon seit Luthers zeit bis tief ins 17. jh. hinein, zu teil wird, kaum verstehn" (note 13, p. 15).

74. Henzen (note 62), p. 91.

75. Dirk Gerardus Noordijk, Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der kaiserlichen Kanzleisprache im XV. Jahrhundert, Diss. Amsterdam 1925 (Gouda: T. van Tilburg, 1925), pp. 154-67.

76. Hugo Moser, Deutsche Sprachgeschichte, 6th ed. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1969), and "Die Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Einheitssprache," DU, 3 (1951), 58-74.

77. Eggers (note 4), p. 143.

Die Wiener Entwicklung sei noch etwas weiter verfolgt. Unter Kaiser MAXIMILIAN I. (1486-1519) bleibt die alte Tradition im wesentlichen bewahrt; allerdings wird der bairisch-Österreichische Einschlag in der Schreibsprache etwas stärker. Der Kaiser, selbst mit dem 'Theuerdank' und dem 'Weiskuning' als Dichter hervorgetreten und ein Sammler und Förderer der deutschen Literatur, war auch um die Gestaltung der Sprache bemüht, darin lebhaft unterstützt von seinem Kanzler NIKLAS ZIEGLER. Die

Sprache, die sie pflegten, wurde als das 'Donausische' oder die 'Donausprache' bekannt und galt weithin als Vorbild. Dabei dürften die Bewunderer die mundartlichen Züge, die dieser Sprache eigneten, nicht so sehr beachtet haben wie die Orthographiereform, die ZIEGLER durchsetzte. Bis zu seiner Zeit war die Unsitte der Doppelschreibung von Konsonanten, über die bereits WYLE sich beklagt, mächtig ins Kraut geschossen. ZIEGLER setzte sich für Vereinfachung ein (z. B. Helpershelfer, Zeiten statt Hellffershellfffer, Czeyten [. . .]) und lenkte damit die weitere Entwicklung in vernünftigere Bahnen. Dies vor allem scheint den Ruhm von MAXIMILIANS Kanzleisprache begründet zu haben. Jedenfalls waren sich die Zeitgenossen bewußt, daß von der kaiserlichen Kanzlei starke Impulse ausgingen.

78. Polenz (note 64), p. 76.

79. Kluge (note 40), pp. 26-27; Socin (note 44), p. 165; Henzen (note 62), p. 91; Bach (note 48), p. 250; and Rupprich (note 15), p. 136.

80. Müller (note 70), pp. 310-11.

81. Rudolf von Raumer, Geschichte der germanischen Philologie vorzugsweise in Deutschland (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1870), p. 62.

82. Joseph von Aschbach, Geschichte der Wiener Universität, II (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1877).

83. Engelbert Klüpfel, De Vita et Scriptis Conradi Celtis (Freiburg i. Br.: Libraria Wagneriana, 1827), p. 179.

84. Anton Maria Kobolt and Benefiziat Gandershofer, Ergänzungen und Berichtungen zum Baierischen Gelehrten-Lexikon, II (Landshut: Verlag bei Franz Seraph Storno, 1824), 176-77.

85. Michael Denis, Wiens Buchdruckergeschichte bis M.D.L.X. (Vienna: Christian Friedrich Wappler, 1782).

86. Joannes Cuspinianus, Austria (Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1553), p. 593.

87. See Denis (note 85), p. 299. An undated work of Cuspinianus', which according to Denis must have appeared before 1500, is dedicated to Krachenberger.

88. See Lewis W. Spitz, Conrad Celtis: The German Arch-Humanist (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 57-58, and Aschbach (note 82), pp. 288-89, among others.

89. Elias Caspar Reichard, Versuch einer Historie der deutschen Sprachkunst (Hamburg: Johann Adolf Martini, 1747), pp. 15-16. This work is something of a period piece and is dedicated to the "hochlöblichen deutschen Gesellschaften in Leipzig, Jena, Göttingen, Greifswald und Helmstädt." As Müller warns, it is less than reliable (note 70, p. 311, n. 49).

90. Hermann Maschek, "Ladislaus Suntheim," VL, 4 (1953), col. 347.

91. Bibliotheca Institvta et Collecta, Primvm a Conrado Gesnero: Deinde in Epitomen redacte, & nouorum Librorum accessione locupletata, tertio recognita, & in duplum post priores editiones aucta, per Iosiam Simlerum: Iam vero postremo aliquot mille, cum priorum tum nouorum authorum opusculis, ex instructissima Viennensi Austriae Imperatoria Bibliotheca amplificata, per Iohannem Iacobum Frisium Tigurinum, [3rd ed.] (Zurich: Christophorus Froschovervs, 1583), p. 531, col. 1.

92. Conrad Gesner died in 1565; Josia Simler in 1576.

93. The second edition was apparently published under the direction of Simler in 1574. It was entitled Bibliotheca Institvta et Collecta primvm a Conrado Gesnero, Deinde in Epitomen redacta & nouorum Librorū accessione locupletata, iam, vero postremo recognita, & in duplum post priores editiones aucta, per Iosiam Simlerum Tigurinum, [2nd ed.] (Zurich: Christophorus Froschovervm, 1574). The Sunthaym reference occurs on p. 442, col. 2.

The first complete edition of the catalog appeared between 1545 and 1555. Each volume appeared under a separate title and all four were published by Christoph Froschauer in Zurich. The volumes are: Bibliotheca Vniversalis, sive Catalogus omnium scriptorum locupletissimus, in tribus linguis, Latina, Graeca, & Hebraica [. . .], 1545; Pandectarum sive Partitionem universalium Conradi Gesneri Tigurini, medici & philosophiae professoris, libri XXI, 1548; Partitiones Theologicae, Pandectarum Vniversalium Conradi Gesneri Liber ultimas, 1549; Appendix Bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri, 1555.

94. Conrad Gesner, Pandectarvm [. . .] (Zurich, 1548), fol. 35^v, col. 2.

95. The entries differ only in typeface. The word "Germaniam" is abbreviated in the second edition and not in the third. I have removed the italics in quoting the entry because they vary in the two editions and have no bearing on the statement.

96. Dr. Eheim has done extensive research on Ladislaus Sunthaym. His work on Maximilian's Hofkaplan includes: "Ladislaus Sunthaym: Leben und Werk," Diss. Vienna 1949; "Die älteste Topographie von Österreich," Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Nieder-Österreich, 33 (1957), 7-25; and "Ladislaus Sunthaym: Ein Historiker aus dem Gelehrtenkreis um Maximilian I.," MIÖG, 67 (1959), 53-91.

97. "Wir glauben uns durch solche Thatsachen die Berechtigung erworben zu haben, auf des Kaisers Anregung auch die Anfänge theoretischer Normierung der Sprache zurückzuführen" (note 40, p. 26).

98. Kluge's use of the title "kaiserliche[r] Kanzler" ("Imperial chancellor") to describe Niclas Ziegler is somewhat misleading. The term "Kanzler" is sometimes used loosely in German as a synonym for "Kanzlist," meaning "chancery scribe" or "member of the chancery staff." In this sense it is accurate to describe Ziegler as "der kaiserliche Kanzler," since he did serve for a time on the staff of the Imperial Chancery (Reichskanzlei). He never attained the office of Reichskanzler or Erzkanzler (Imperial Chancellor or Arch-chancellor), however, a position traditionally held by the Archbishop of Mainz. Historians of the German language who present Ziegler simply as "Maximilian's chancellor" or "Maximilians Kanzler" (Bach [note 48], p. 250; Eggers [note 40], p. 143; Waterman [note 55], p. 114, e.g.) fail to make this distinction and imply that Ziegler occupied a more influential position in the chancery than he did. See "The Imperial Archchancellor under Maximilian I" and "The Hofordnung of 1498," chapter 2.

99. Portions of the material on Ziegler presented here and in subsequent chapters are taken from my essay, "An Overdue Revision in the History of Early New High German," DVLG, 55 (1981), 248-77.

100. Kluge (note 40), p. 27.

101. Moser (note 13), p. 15.

102. Bach (note 48), p. 250.

103. Henzen (note 62), pp. 91, 99; Waterman (note 55), p. 114; Schmidt (note 57), p. 97; Rupprich (note 15), p. 136; Eggers (note 4), p. 143; and Polenz (note 64), p. 76.

104. Thomas P. Thornton. "Die Schreibgewohnheiten Hans Rieds im Ambraser Heldenbuch," ZDP, 81 (1962), 52-82.

105. The footnote in the fifth edition (note 42, p. 31, n. 2) that is supposed to give additional information about Niclas Ziegler in fact refers to a passage in Joseph von Aschbach's Geschichte der Wiener Universität (note 82, p. 421, n. 2) concerning Hans Krachenberger.

106. Heinrich Ulmann, Kaiser Maximilian I., 2 vols. (Stuttgart: Verlag der J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1884-91).

107. The notes appear on pp. 69 and 817. Kluge must have read this work with great attention as the index did not appear until 1891, when it was published along with the second volume of the biography.

108. Victor von Kraus, Maximilians I. vertraulicher Briefwechsel mit Sigmund Prüschenk Freiherrn zu Stettenberg (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitaets-Buchhandlung, 1875).

109. Tennant (note 99), pp. 268-69, n. 38.

110. Tennant (note 99), p. 268, n. 37.

111. Ulmann (note 106), I, 817.

112. See Ernst Wülcker, "Luthers Stellung zur kursächsischen Kanzleisprache," Germania, 28 (1883), 195; Socin (note 44), p. 163; Behaghel (note 60), p. 190; Bach (note 48), p. 250; and Waterman (note 55), p. 114.

113. Otto Behaghel, Die deutsche Sprache, 14th ed. (Halle a. d. Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1968), p. 40.

114. Wülcker (note 65), p. 366.

115. Wülcker (note 112), p. 195.

116. Socin (note 44), p. 163; Bach (note 48), p. 250; and Waterman (note 55), p. 114.

117. Eggers (note 4), p. 181:

Dem Leseeifer der Reformationszeit kann man freilich ebenfalls keine unmittelbare Wirkung auf die Sprachentwicklung zuschreiben, wohl aber eine mittelbare. Wenigstens dem aufmerksamen Leser müssen sich gewisse Sprachmuster einprägen, ein Gefühl für Anlage und Gliederung deutscher Texte, für wiederkehrende Wendungen und Ausdrucksweisen, für Satzbau und Wortwahl. Auch Unterschiede im Schreibgebrauch können der Aufmerksamkeit nicht entgehen, und einer Zeit, die das 'gemeine Deutsch' als Ziel erfaßt hat, muß daran gelegen sein, nicht nur eine gemeinverständliche, sondern auch eine nach allgemeinen Grundsätzen geregelte Sprache anzustreben. Für solches Streben gibt es eine bemerkenswerte Fülle von Beweisen.

118. Luther (note 1).

119. Paul (note 16), p. 558.

120. Werbow (note 16), p. 53.

121. Johannes Erben, "Luther und die neuhighdeutsche Schriftsprache," in Deutsche Wortgeschichte, ed. Friedrich Maurer and Friedrich Stroh, 2nd ed., I (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1959), 448.

122. Martin Luther, D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe: Tischreden, V (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1919), 512.

123. Erben (note 121), pp. 446-47.

124. See Eggers (note 4), pp. 153-54, for example.

125. Werbow (note 16), p. 53. In this passage Werbow cites Carl Franke, Satzlehre, Vol. III of Grundzüge der Schriftsprache Luthers, 2nd ed. (Halle a. d. Saale: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1922), p. 380.

126. Günter Feudel, "Luthers Ausspruch über seine Sprache (WA Tischreden I, 524)—Ideal oder Wirklichkeit?" BGDSL (Halle), 92 (1970), 72.

127. See Fabian Frangk, Ein Cañzley vnd Titel buchlin (Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz, 1531), sig. A 2-3; and Orthographia (note 70), p. 93.

128. Titel buchlin (note 127), sig. A 2-3; and Orthographia (note 70), p. 95.

129. Hans Schönsperger the Elder (1481-1523) was an Augsburger who worked for a time as a printer in Nuremberg. He is particularly noted for his edition of the Theuerdank, printed in Nuremberg in 1517. This first edition of the work is supposed to have been prepared under the supervision of Maximilian's chancellor, Melchior Pfintzing, who was also one of the authors of the text. See Constantin Karl Falkenstein, Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in ihrer Entstehung und Ausbildung, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1856), pp. 159-61.

130. See Elaine C. Tennant, "Vom mangel vnd fühl vnsers A be cees/ im Teutschen lesen," Codices manuscripti, 7, No. 3 (1981).

131. See Kluge (note 40), p. 31, for example.

132. Eggers (note 4), p. 184:

Aber wenn auch in der Praxis das Ziel noch keineswegs erreicht wird, so ist doch hier erstmalig eine Forderung ausgesprochen, die auf einheitliche Regelung abzielt. Wenn außerdem die Schrift wiederholt aufgelegt und andern Orts nachgedruckt wird, so äußert sich darin das Bedürfnis der Zeit nach Vereinheitlichung des Sprachgebrauchs. FRANCK ist kein Sonderling, kein einsamer Rufer, sondern er findet Gehör und weist Wege, die auch andere einschlagen.

133. See Tennant (note 130) concerning Johann Kolroß, for example.

CHAPTER 2

134. Jančar (note 63), p. 4.

135. See "The Training of Chancery Personnel" in this chapter.

136. See Moser (note 7), pp. 26-29.

137. Jančar (note 63), p. 41:

Von den übrigen zahlreichen Secretarien, welche in den Registerbüchern angeführt werden, lässt sich nicht bestimmen, wo sie zugeteilt waren. Schon damals [um 1515] ist dieser Titel, sowie der eines Rethes (consiliarius) in manchen Fällen eine blosse Rangsbezeichnung geworden für Personen im königlichen Dienste, deren Thätigkeit in der Kanzlei sich aber nicht nachweisen lässt und manchmal auch gerade zu ausgeschlossen ist, z. B. wenn diplomatische Agenten diesen Titel führen.

138. Harry Bresslau, Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien, 3rd ed., 2 vols. (Berlin: Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958), I, 1-2. "Urkunden nennen wir [...] aufgezeichnete Erklärungen, die bestimmt sind, als Zeugnisse über Vorgänge rechtlicher Natur zu dienen" (p. 1).

139. Cf. Heinrich Otto Meisner, Urkunden- und Aktenlehre der Neuzeit, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1952), pp. 60-85.

140. See Jančar (note 63), pp. 46-47; and Meisner (note 139), pp. 60-61.

141. Bresslau (note 138), II, 149.

142. Wilhelm Bauer, "Das Register- und Konzeptwesen in der Reichskanzlei Maximilians I. bis 1502," MIÖG, 26 (1905), 277.

143. Meisner (note 139), p. 64.

144. Moser (note 7), p. 21.

145. In this regard consider Rudolf IV and the so-called privilegium maius, for example. See Gutkas (note 13), pp. 95-97.

146. Moser (note 7), pp. 21-22.

147. Bresslau (note 138), I, 103.

148. Bauer (note 142), p. 254.

149. Gerhard Seeliger, "Die älteste Ordnung der deutschen Reichskanzlei. 1494. Oktober 3. Mecheln," ArchZ, 13 (1888), 1-7. The original Reichskanzleiordnung has been lost, but the text is preserved in two manuscripts from the second half of the sixteenth century. Seeliger's edition was done from these. Notation in the text refers to the section numbers of the Ordinance according to this edition.

150. The titles "Imperial Chancery" and "Court Chancery" are capitalized in the text when they refer directly to the Reichskanzlei and Hofkanzlei, respectively. The terms "Imperial chancery" or "Imperial chanceries" refer to the "kaiserliche Kanzlei" or to the Imperial chancery system in general.

151. Jančar (note 63), p. 21.

152. Bauer (note 142) cites a case heard before the Reichskammergericht in 1524. It concerned an Imperial fief that was being held by France. In order for the opposing claims to be evaluated the

court needed to examine chancery documents that Maximilian's senior chancellors had taken with them when they left the chancery. Thus the Räte of the Esslinger Reichsregiment wrote to Archduke Ferdinand and asked that a search be made for the missing documents among the papers of Maximilian and Frederick in Vienna and Innsbruck. The Räte also asked that the investigation include the papers of the former secretaries Stürtzel, Serntein, Ziegler, Renner, etc. or of their estates. Jančar (note 63, p. 15) notes that Maximilian was the founder of an archive in Innsbruck, albeit an incomplete one.

153. It should be remembered that missives in this period were sometimes sent in wrappers, but more often they were simply folded with the message to the inside, sealed with wax, and addressed on the back. See frontispiece.

154. See "Seals" in this chapter and Wilhelm Erben, Die Kaiser- und Königsurkunden des Mittelalters in Deutschland, Frankreich und Italien (1907; rpt. Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1967), p. 275.

155. Bauer (note 142), p. 277.

156. It is unfortunate that none of the registers in which these fees were recorded has survived. See Jančar (note 63), pp. 48-49, 62.

157. See Ullmann (note 106), I, 293, 313, 804 ff.

158. Georg Voigt, Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter, I (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1856), 278-79.

159. Voigt (note 158), p. 279.

160. Gerhard Seeliger, Erzkanzler und Reichskanzleien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Reiches (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1889), pp. 21-25.

161. Seeliger (note 160), pp. 45-46.

162. Seeliger (note 160), p. 49.

163. Seeliger (note 160), p. 56.

164. Seeliger (note 160), p. 57.

165. Seeliger (note 160), p. 52.

166. See Bresslau (note 138), I, 536-37; and Seeliger (note 160), p. 58.

167. Seeliger (note 160), pp. 59-61.

168. Seeliger (note 160), pp. 62-65.

169. Seeliger (note 160), pp. 66-67.

170. Jančar (note 63), p. 7.

171. Jančar (note 63), p. 7:

Bis auf Friedrich III. war die Reichskanzlei die einzige, welche alle Beurkundungsgeschäfte der Herrscher, auch für ihre Erb- und Hauslande besorgte. Seit Frühjahr 1442 wurde eine österreichische Kanzlei für die Erblande Friedrichs abgesondert. Sie hatte besondere Beamte und eigene Beurkundungsformen. Doch halfen sich die Beamten gegenseitig, nur die Expedition war immer getrennt. Schon damals wurde in der österreichischen Kanzlei die Untertätigungsformel: *commissio domini regis (imperatoris) consequent festgehalten*, während die Reichskanzlei die Formel: *ad mandatum d. r. anwendete*. Daneben sind aber auch schon unter Friedrich III. Ansätze zu einer Hofkanzlei vorhanden, indem Urkunden über wichtige Staatsangelegenheiten, als Verträge, Vollmachten usgl. zum grössten Theile, auch wenn sie das Reich betrafen, nicht in der Reichskanzlei, sondern von eigenen Secretären des Kaisers, welche sein Vertrauen besassen, ausgefertigt wurden.

172. See Seeliger (note 160), p. 69; and Bresslau (note 138), I, 531.

173. Seeliger (note 160), p. 70.

174. Seeliger (note 160), pp. 70-72

175. Jančar (note 63), p. 16.

176. Jančar (note 63), p. 13.

177. Jančar (note 63), p. 10:

Die Kanzleigeschäfte aller dieser Behörden [des Regimentes zu Linz, des Hof- oder Kammergerichtes zu Wiener Neustadt, des Hofkambers zu Wien, des Rechenkambers zu Wien, des Hauskambers zu Wien, des Hofrathes zu Wien] leitet der österreichische Kanzler, der dem Hofrathen und dem Regimente angehört. Er besetzt die Kanzlei des Regimentes und des Hofgerichtes. Man sieht, der Name 'österreichische Kanzlei' ist eigentlich ein Sammelname und bezeichnet die unter gemeinsamer Leitung stehenden Hilfsämter der niederösterreichischen Behörden.

178. Jančar (note 63), pp. 8-10.

179. Jančar (note 63), pp. 11-12.

180. See Jančar (note 63), p. 18; and Moser (note 7), p. 14.

181. Jančar (note 63), p. 38.

182. Hermann Wiesflecker, Reichsreform und Kaiserpolitik, Vol. II of Kaiser Maximilian I. (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1975), p. 305.

183. Jančar (note 63), p. 20.

Berthold wollte eben nicht blos Leiter der Kanzlei sein, er fasste seine Stellung bedeutsamer auf. Als ein activer Politiker und Oberhaupt der fürderhin Opposition wollte er die Reichsgeschäfte möglichst unabhängig von den wechselnden und immer unberechenbaren Entschlüsseungen des Königs machen; daher sein Streben, die Kanzlei als einen wichtigen Theil der Executive dem königlichen Einflusse zu entziehen.

184. Wiesflecker (note 182), pp. 305-07.

185. Seeliger (note 160), pp. 75-76.

186. Kraus (note 108), pp. 107-08.

187. See Wiesflecker (note 182), pp. 306-07.

188. See Bauer (note 142), p. 272; and Jančar (note 63), pp. 20-22.

189. Thomas Fellner, Die österreichische Zentralverwaltung, 2 vols. (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausen, 1907), I, 26.

190. Seeliger (note 160), pp. 83-84.

191. Jančar (note 63), pp. 23-24.

192. Seeliger (note 160), pp. 85, 212-13.

193. All references to the 1498 ordinances are to the texts as they appear in the second volume of Fellner's Zentralverwaltung (note 189), including the variant readings, which are of particular interest with regard to the Hofordnung (II, 6-16).

194. See Fellner (note 189).

195. The dating of this fragment has been the subject of considerable discussion. Neither Seeliger (note 160, pp. 80, 193) nor Jančar (note 63, pp. 33-34) agrees that the Instruktion was issued along with the Hofordnung in February 1498. Jančar, emphasizing that the internal procedures prescribed in the fragment differ from

those in the February ordinance and that the fragment still stresses separation of Reich and Erblände affairs, dates the text between 1495 and 1496. Fellner, however, argues convincingly that the Instruktion was conceived in conjunction with the Reichskanzleiordnung in September 1498 (note 189, II, 50-51).

196. Fellner (note 189), II, 6-16.

197. Fellner (note 189), II, 7-8.

198. Despite his professed desire to be consulted only in matters of the greatest importance, Maximilian is known to have concerned himself regularly with the routine business of his artists and scribes. This was sometimes a source of irritation to his staff. In a letter from Cyprian Serntein to Paul von Liechtenstain dated 3 April 1509, the Chancellor complains that the Emperor insists on "assigning, reviewing, and correcting everything himself" ("alle ding selbst angeben durchsehen und corrigen"; Kraus [note 108], p. 121) in the Chancery. The artists and ghostwriters for his literary projects had similar difficulties. See Tennant (note 99), p. 257, n. 17.

199. Fellner (note 189), II, 9-10.

200. Wiesflecker (note 182), pp. 307-08.

201. Ulmann (note 106), I, 826-27:

Eine Reihe von Anordnungen aus der nächsten Zeit beweist das Inslebentreten der reformirten Regimentsordnung. Während des Reichstags in Freiburg fungirt der Hofrat neben den vom König mit 'etlichen besonderen Räthen' gepflogenen Berathschlagungen. Als aber im Spätherbst Friedrich von Sachsen halb und halb im Zorn den Hof des Königs verließ, muß auch die Hofratsordnung allmählich in Abgang gekommen sein.

202. Fellner (note 189), II, 10-11.

203. Fellner (note 189), II, 11:

[21.] Item das eilft sol haben ein slössel, wol ver macht. Darein sol man legen das sigel und secret verspert, und denselben slüssel sol haben der canzler oder obrist secretari. Und der gros kasten, darinne die cleinen kestlin steen, sol haben vier gute slösser, das eins nicht sei als das ander; zu denselben slossen sol haben der genannt herzog Friderich zu Sachsen einen slüssel an unserer statt, der hofmeister den andern und der hofmarschall den dritten und der canzler oder

obrister secretari den vierten slüssel zum sigeltrübelin;
und sol solh truhē nit geöffent werden dann in gegen-
würtickeit der merer teil der rete.

204. See "Seals" in this chapter.

205. Jančar (note 63), p. 22.

206. Jančar (note 63), p. 50.

207. Fellner (note 189), II, 48-49.

208. Fellner (note 189), II, 49.

[1.] Von erst sollen dheinerlei brieve von unsern als
rhömischen königs wegen in das hailig reich geschrieben
werden dann in unser romischen canzlei, so itz der
erwirdig Berchtold erzbishove zu Meintz des hailgen
römischen reichs in Germanien erzcanzler unser lieber
neve und churfürst in verwesung hat [. . .].

209. Fellner (note 189), II, 49, [2.]-[6.]

210. See note 195.

211. Fellner (note 189), II, 51.

212. Fellner (note 189), II, 52.

213. Fellner (note 189), II, 53-54.

214. These procedures applied only to official documents
originating in the Chancery. The private correspondence of the
secretaries was not, of course, subject to these controls; neither
were many of the internal communications between members of the
Chancery.

215. See note 171.

216. Jančar (note 63), pp. 55-56.

217. Jančar (note 63), p. 33.

218. Fellner (note 189), II, 51.

219. Consider, for example, the document dated 20 September
1498, Innsbruck, which Rüdolf Horber ("Hawscamerer zu innsprugk")
sealed with his own seal on behalf of Niclas Ziegler. Vienna, HHSA,
Allgemeine Urkundenreihe.

220. For example, the fair copy of a diplomatic mandate dated
17 March 1503, Antwerp, shows Niclas Ziegler's formal signature in
this position. Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 7b/1, fol. 63.

221. An engrossed mandate dated 7 January 1503, Wesel, shows both Niclas Ziegler's formal signature at the lower right of the plica and the King's visa "p reg p s" at the upper left. Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 7b/1, fol. 1.

222. Many scholars resolve this notation "per regem per se." In the abbreviation, however, the two p's are written differently. The first is crossed in the manner commonly used to represent "per" (see A. Cappelli, Dizionario di Abbreviature, 1973, pp. 256-57); the stroke used to cross the letter is a second line and not a continuation of the character itself. The second p shows a line that extends from the character itself, dropping downward to the left of the stem of the p and forming a loop. This second form may also be resolved "per" but more frequently represents "pro" (Capelli, loc. cit.). Because the two p's are written differently in the notation, I take them to indicate different words; thus I resolve the second abbreviation as "pro" throughout my text except in quoted material. Jančar explains that this form of Maximilian's handwritten endorsement developed from the formula "per regem fridericus etc.," which was used by his father; the notation "p reg p s" was used throughout Maximilian's reign (note 63, p. 57).

223. Burkhard Seuffert, Drei Register aus den Jahren 1478-1519 (Innsbruck: Universitäts-Verlag Wagner, 1934), pp. 344-45.

224. A treaty between Maximilian and Ulrich of Württemberg dated 6 May 1510 shows the Emperor's "great signature" along with those of Ulrich and Chancellor Serntein; Vienna, HHSA, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe. On an official letter to the Abbess of Goss dated 25 November 1496, Pontremoli, Maximilian's abbreviated manu propria signature, "M. R. Kunig etc., p m p," appears as the only chancery endorsement; Vienna, HHSA, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe.

225. See note 224.

226. This work is frequently cited, "Friedrich Wilhelm Cosmann, Von dem großen Namenshandzeichen Maximilians I., [Diss.] Mainz 1786, n.p.," according to the name of its Defensor (Cosmann), which appears on the title page of the work. The study is Franck's,

however, and it is preserved as MS. 14484 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (Seuffert [note 223], p. 346, n. 34).

227. See note 224.

228. See Seuffert (note 223), p. 345. For further information concerning the Imperial monograms and their use see Berthold Sutter's "Die deutschen Herrschermonogramme nach dem Interregnum: Ein Beitrag zur Diplomatik des Spätmittelalters," in Festschrift Julius Franz Schütz, ed. Berthold Sutter (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1954), pp. 246-314. This article includes illustrations of the monograms of Frederick III and Maximilian I.

229. For additional information on Maximilian's Stempelschneider and their activities, see Helmut Jungwirth "Münzen und Medaillen Maximilians I.," in Ausstellung Maximilian I. Innsbruck, ed. Erich Egg (Innsbruck: Verlagsanstalt Tyrolia, 1969), p. 66.

230. Seuffert (note 223), pp. 346-48. Jančar (note 63, pp. 57-58) disputes the idea that a stamp was used and suggests a stencil or template ("Schablone") instead. At least some of the documents mentioned by Seuffert, however, show definite embossing, indicating that stamps were used. This is particularly apparent in the case of the per Cesarem stamp on a document dated 1 May 1518, in which Maximilian grants the Abbeys and Convents Zum Heiligen Geist an annual allowance; Vienna, HHSA, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe.

231. These are Seuffert's resolutions of the abbreviations on the stamps; see note 222. Seuffert's Tafel 48 is a photograph of the stamp "ꝝ per Cesarem" as it appears on a manuscript dated 24 July 1516; Vienna, HHSA.

232. Seuffert (note 223), pp. 345-48.

233. Hans Moser (note 7, pp. 205-07) makes similar observations, not about endorsements, but about the various scripts in which individual scribes penned different kinds of texts.

234. Niclas Ziegler, for example, used his noncalligraphic signature to endorse the Publikationsmandat circulated throughout Germany with the 1521 Edict of Worms. See Tennant (note 99), p. 273, n. 41.

235. Franz-Heinz Hye, "Die Siegel Maximilians I. von 1486 bis 1519, ihre historisch-politische und ihre kanzleigeschichtliche Bedeutung," NumZ, 82 (1967), 86-107. This article provides the most complete list and description now available of the official Habsburg seals used during Maximilian's reign. It also discusses briefly the history of each seal and the sorts of documents on which it has been found. The illustrative table of newly discovered seals accompanying Hye's text completes the series of Habsburg seals pictured in vols. 3 and 4 of Otto Posse's Die Siegel der deutschen Kaiser und Könige (Dresden: Verlag von Wilhelm Baensch, 1909-13).

236. The Secretsiegel used in 1491-92 was a ring seal or signet; Maximilian's secreth described in the Hofordnung of 1498 was not. See Jančar (note 63), pp. 55-56.

237. Hye (note 235), pp. 96-97, 102.

238. The following manuscripts, like the Urkunde mentioned in note 219, document this flexible usage of seals in Maximilian's chancery system: 7 September 1499 Reutlingen, Innsbruck, TLA, Maximiliana 1/41, fol. 293; 15 August 1500 Augsburg, Vienna, HHSA, Allgemeine Urkundenreihe; and 7 March 1501 Linz, Vienna, Hofkammer-archiv, Gedenkbuch I, p. 231, fol. 113^v.

239. See note 238, 7 September 1499 Reutlingen.

240. See note 219, and Jančar (note 63), pp. 49, 56.

241. Der Weißkunig, ed. Alwin Schultz, JbKhS, Vol. 6, Vienna, 1888, p. 70.

242. Cf. note 198.

243. Der Weißkunig (note 241), p. 70:

Auf ein zeit betrachtet der alt weiß kunig der welt lauf und befand durch sein regirung, wo ein mechtiger kunig in dem canzler ampt und in dem secretari ampt nit erfahren und kundig were, das demselben kunig je zu zeiten nachtail daraus erwuechsen Nemlichen aus den ursachen, das ein kunig nit albegen sein gemuet offenwaren und auch sein regirung und sein vertrawen in ain ampt oder person setzen solle; es ist genueg davon gemeldt. Aus sölcher bewegung nam der alt weiß kunig seinen sun ain zeit zu ime und prauchet ine mit der schreiberey, was dann ainem canzler und

secretari zugehöret, das dann aines jeden kunigs maist regirung ist, dardurch er sich möcht erkunden den grund der regirung und erkennen lernen die aigennutzign. Der alt weiß kunig prauchet ins in sonderheit vast darynnen, und der sun was ganz vleyssig, und in kurzer zeit begriff er die haupt artikl; darab het der vater ein sonderliche grosse frewd. Und auf ain zeit sprach der vater zu ime: 'sun versteister aber den grund der schriftlichen regirung?' Der sun gab dem vater die antwurt: 'welher kunig in ain person sein vertrawen setzt, und hat in seiner handlung mit seiner schönen red bei ime gelauben, derselb und nit der kunig regirt. Welher kunig die unwarhaftigen und aigennutzig nit erkennt, demselben kunig wird sein gelt und reich in vil tail getailt. Welher kunig die warhaftigen und die in der rechten eer lebn nit lieb hat, derselb kunig ist ein verzerer seins volks und ein austilger der gerechtigkeit.' Der Vater was diser red gar fro, das sein sun den grund der regirung verstand [...].

244. Regrettably Maximilian was unable to put into practice the principle of "government through the chancery" that he understood so well in theory. In many instances it was indeed the Kanzlisten and not the Emperor who ruled. The bitter complaints of several contemporary observers who were unable to get through the "hedge" ("Hecke") of secretaries to Maximilian himself still survive. See, for example, Ullmann (note 106), I, 293, 804 ff.

245. Jancár (note 63), p. 38.

246. See Peter Krendl, "Über Hosenbandorden, 'Feder' und andere burgundische Kleinodien Karls des Kühnen," ZHV Steierm., 72 (1981), 13 ff.

247. See Moser (note 7), pp. 36-37.

248. This office should not be confused with that of the same title later held by Niclas Ziegler.

249. Bresslau (note 138), I, 527-34.

250. Walter Höflechner, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Diplomatie und des Gesandtschaftswesens unter Maximilian I. 1490-1500," Diss. Graz 1967. Höflechner shows that diplomatic activity was highly organized and stratified during Maximilian's reign, but that it could not yet be thought of as a distinct branch of government.

251. Consider Ziegler's letter to Serntein concerning the chancery seal (quoted under "Seals" above), for example. Also see Christa Kohlweg, "Die Brüder Ziegler im Dienste Kaiser Maximilians," Diss. Graz 1978, pp. 40 ff. ("Das Rankespiel am Hofe König Maximilians").

252. Heinz Gollwitzer, "Zur Geschichte der Diplomatie im Zeitalter Maximilians I.," HJb, 74 (1955), 189-99; Eysenreich is quoted on p. 19⁴, n. 10.

253. Consider Ladislaus Sunthaym, for example.

254. See note 137; and Gollwitzer (note 252), p. 189.

255. One member of Maximilian's entourage who functioned as a "neighborhood diplomat" was Hofkanzler Conrad Stürtzel, whose fief was near the lands of the Swiss Confederation (Gollwitzer [note 252], p. 190).

256. Gollwitzer (note 252), pp. 189-90, 195.

257. See Wiesflecker (note 182), p. 306. The use of this double title persisted until the end of Maximilian's Imperial reign. Correspondence to Chancellor Serntein was addressed using both titles. Consider, for example, a letter dated 9 June 1516 (TLA, Maximiliana XIV/1516/2, fol. 58) addressed to "Zipprian von Serntein, vnnserm hof vnnd Tirolischen Canntzler."

258. Victor von Kraus, "Itinerarium Maximiliani I. 1508-1518: Mit einleitenden Bemerkungen über das Kanzleiwesen Maximilians I.," AÖG, 87 (1899), 229-318. Maximilian's own itinerary sometimes differed from that of his traveling chancery members. Kraus shows that in some of these instances the distances between their locations were less than a day's ride and that both parties could have ended up at the same point on a given day despite the locations indicated on their separate documents (p. 267). The locations given in the colophons of the manuscripts are the places where the texts were actually penned. Thus it is possible, even in the case of documents that were prepared at the spoken command of Maximilian, that the copyist and the Emperor were in different places when the texts were engrossed.

259. Sigmund Adler, Die Organisation der Centralverwaltung unter Kaiser Maximilian I. (Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker & Humblot, 1886), p. 62.

260. Adler (note 259), pp. 65-69. See esp. p. 69:

Diese Nachrichten beweisen deutlich, daß von einem festen Sitze des Hofrates keine Rede war, während andererseits anzunehmen ist, daß die Mitglieder nicht bloß fallweise sondern ständig ernannt waren.

261. See Robert Peter Ebert, "Social and Stylistic Variation in Early New High German Word Order: The Sentence Frame ('Satzrahmen')," BGDSL, 102 (1980), 361, 387; and Keller (note 12), p. 342.

262. Carl Wehmer, "Die Schreibmeisterblätter des späten Mittelalters," in Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati, Vol. VI, Studi e Testi 126, Vatican City, 1946, pp. 152-53.

263. Klaus Leder, "Nürnbergs Schulwesen an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit," in Albrecht Dürers Umwelt (Nuremberg: Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, 1971), p. 30.

264. See Wehmer (note 262), p. 152; and James Westfall Thompson, The Literacy of the Laity in the Middle Ages, University of California Publications in Education, Vol. 9, Berkeley, 1939, p. 71.

265. S. H. Steinberg, "Medieval Writing-Masters," The Library, 4th ser., 22 (1941), 3-4.

266. Wehmer (note 262), p. 153.

267. Leder (note 263), p. 33.

268. Steinberg (note 265), pp. 3-4.

269. Herrad Spilling, "Schreibkünste des späten Mittelalters," Codices manuscripti, 4 (1978), 97-119.

270. See Spilling (note 269), p. 98; and Carl Wehmer, "Schreibmeister von einst," Archiv für Buchgewerbe und Gebrauchsgraphik, 76 (1939), 37-58.

271. Steinberg (note 265), p. 11

272. Erich Straßner, Graphemsystem und Wortkonstituenz, Hermaea, Germanistische Forschungen, n.s., Vol. 39, Tübingen, 1977, p. 18.

273. Spilling (note 269), p. 103.

274. See Spilling (note 269), p. 103; Ebert (note 261), p. 362; and Straßner (note 272), p. 19, concerning the education of girls and women.

275. Spilling (note 269), pp. 103-06.

276. Wehmer (note 262), p. 153.

277. Spilling (note 269), pp. 103-05.

278. Steinberg (note 265), p. 2.

279. Spilling (note 269), p. 99.

280. Spilling (note 269), p. 105.

281. Strepel's advertisement is translated in this way by Steinberg (note 265), p. 10:

To all scholars who wish to learn to write well in a short time! Come ye to Hermann Strepel who wish to be quickly instructed in it. For there is the source of learning that does not dry up in winter nor in summer. How useful and how necessary is the glorious knowledge of learning. It is the crowned science the help of which is wanted by the upper, middle, and lower classes. It bears upon the literary diction of the New and Old Testaments, the Canon and Civil Laws, and all literature. It is seated on the chair of honour in the courts and palaces of kings, potentates, and princes, and there procures most honourable places to its lovers and pupils. Let them come to me who want to be embraced by it: for I shall open to them the secrets of its sweetness as best as I can, in such a way that they may become good scribes in a short time, with the help of God's grace. For the dullness of any work is softened by diligence.

282. Brune's advertising placard is quoted by Steinberg (note 265), p. 19:

Wer yemandes der noch rechter außgemeßener kunst und art lernen wolde [schreyben], geleichen nach den rechten regulen der orthographien text ader nottel subtil[er art] cancellleysch ader sußt von mancherley namhaftigen notteln igliche mit irer undlirschedyndJ allerley ercze auß der federn schreyben unde uff gute subtile art illuminiren unde [..., komjme zu Johanni Brune wonhaftig zcu dem bunten lawen bey sante Maria Magdalenen, und wird] eyn iglicher gutlich undirweyseth.

283. See Leder (note 263), p. 34; Straßner (note 272), p. 19; and Ebert (note 261), p. 361.

284. Spilling (note 269), p. 99.

285. My remarks about Neudörffer's handbook are based on an examination of a microfilm of his Anweysung einer gemeinen handschrift (that is, Ein gute Ordnung vnd Kurtze vnterricht der furnemsten grunde aus denen die Jungen Zierlichs schreybens begirlich mit besonderer Kunst und behendigkeyt vnterricht vnd geübt mogē werden). The work, which comprises 118 folios, is usually dated 1538, although it contains plates dated as late as 1543 (e.g., fol. 101). For a visual analysis of the most salient features of Neudörffer's Anweysung and the educational tradition from which it emerged, see Michael Baxandall, The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 145-49.

286. Straßner (note 272), p. 19:

Der Schreibunterricht beginnt mit praktischen Anweisungen über die Wahl der Feder, ihre Zubereitung und die richtige Körperhaltung. Dann wird mittels der 'Zerstreuungen' die Entwicklung der Buchstaben gezeigt und gelehrt. Es folgen Kopierübungen, vor allem nach Briefmustern an Fürsten und Städte, Urkunden, Privilegien und Verträge. Auf diese Weise werden die Schüler mit der Praxis der Kanzlei, mit den ständig wiederkehrenden formelhaften Wendungen, aber auch mit der deutschen Grammatik und dem deutschen Stil vertraut. Daneben wird Buchhaltung und Rechnen vor allem mit dem Rechenbrett gelehrt.

287. The dating of this text is approximate. See Spilling (note 269), p. 104.

288. Consider Fabian Frangk's Titel buchlin (note 127), for example. This "do-it-yourself" manual is intended to teach the beginning penmen of Frangk's native region the correct formal aspects of chancery correspondence for that area.

289. Der Weißkunig (note 241), p. 70:

Als derselb jung weiß kunig zu seinen jaren und in sein regirung kam, da het er gar vil secretari, den er dann allen genug zu schaffen gab, und doch dieselben secretarien albegen von jugent nach seinem willen auf.

290. David Schönherr, "Über Marx Treytz-Saurwein, Geheim-schreiber K. Maximilians I., dessen Heimath u. Familie," AÖG, 48 (1872), 361.

291. According to the Hofordnung of 1498, Chancery drafts were to be saved so that they might be bound and deposited every six months (Jančar [note 63], pp. 34-35).

292. See note 198.

293. See frontispiece, Der Weißkunig (note 241), p. 69 ("Die geschicklichkeit des jungen w[eißen] k[unigs] in angebung durch seine eynige person in mangerley sprachen vil seinen secretarien auf einmal"); and p. 75 ("Den lust und die geschicklichkeit, so er in angebung des gemelds gehabt, und bey seinen ingenien die pessierung desselben").

CHAPTER 3

294. Frangk (note 70), p. 95.

REcht deutsch schreiben aber/ wird hie nicht genommen/ oder verstanden/ als Rein höflich deutsch/ mit geschmückten verblümpten worten/ ordentlich vnd artigk nach dem synn oder meinung eines jdlichen dings/ von sich schreiben (Welches mehr der redmas vnd Rethoriken zustendig/ vnd der halben jnn der Redkündiger schule gehörig/ da wirs auch bleiben lassen) Sondern/ Wenn ein jdlich wort/ mit gebürlichen buchstaben ausgedruckt (das ist) recht vnd rein geschrieben wird/ also/ das kein buchstab müssig/ oder zuviel noch zu wenig/ Auch nicht an stat des andern gesetzt nach versetzt Dar zu nichts frembdes/ abgethanes/ so einen missestant oder verfinsterung geben möcht eingefürt werd/ Welchs sonst die Latiner vnd Krichen/ Orthographiam/ wir aber/ Recht buchstäblich Deutsch schreiben/ nennen wollen. [...] Weil nuh ein jdlich wort mit gebürlichen buchstaben sol ausgedruckt vnd geschrieben werden/ So mus man die buchstaben vorhin wol wissen zeunderschieden.

295. Frangk (note 70), p. 93.

Denn so wir ansehen den emssigen vleis/ so die Latiner allein/ jnn jrer zungen fürgewandt/ vnd vnsern vnuleis/ bey der vnsern/ da gegen stellen/ solten wir billich schamrot werden/ das wir so gantz ablessig vnd sewig sein/ Vnser edle sprach so vnvwert vnd verachtlich halten/ Weil sie dennach jhe so lustig nützlich vnd tapffer jnn jrer red mass/ als jndert ein andere befunden wird/ Vns vngelerten Layen auch (vnd die wir der heuptsprachen nicht gefüßt nach kündig) so viel an jr/ als jndert einer andern gelegen ist/ Weil wir dieselben heubt sprachen allzugleich nicht erlangen noch erlernen mögen/ Vnd so

viel Edler nützbarlicher bücher vnd künste jnns deutsche
zebringen vnd zuuerdolmetschen sein/ die vns/ vber den
lust vnd nutz zum teil auch/ zewissen hoch von nötzen
weeren.

296. See note 282.

297. Valentin Ickelsamer, Teutsche Grammatica, in Müller's Quellenschriften (note 70), p. 142.

298. See Müller (note 70), p. 142, nn. 139-40.

299. Many of the most significant of these works, including Ickelsamer's Die rechte weis auffs kürtzist lesen zu lernen (1527, 1534) and his Teutsche Grammatica (1534), Johann Kolroß' Enchiridion (1530), Fabian Frangk's Orthographia (1531), Peter Jordan's Leyschul (1533), Johann Elias Meichßner's Handbüchlin (1538), and Ortholph Fuchßperger's Leeßkonst (1542), are reprinted with extensive commentary in Müller's Quellenschriften (note 70).

300. Consider, for example, Ortholph Fuchßperger's Leeßkonst (1542), in which the author tells his student that each letter has a shape, a sound, and a designation, but does not explain to him what the significance of these features is or how they relate to each other. See Müller (note 70), pp. 171-72.

301. Moser (note 7), pp. 4, 54, 58.

302. In their reviews of Die Kanzlei Kaiser Maximilians I., Paul Roberge (MGS, 6 [1980], 153-59) and Erich Straßner (BGDSL, 102 [1980], 76-79) allow their criticism of what they find to be methodological difficulties in Moser's study to overshadow its significant factual contribution to ENHG research. Thus far only Emil Skála in his brief review (Germanistik, 19 [1978], 294) and Gerhard Kettmann in his more detailed assessment (DLZ, 102 [1981], cols. 723-25) have accorded Moser's investigation the praise it deserves.

303. Hans Moser, "Zur Kanzlei Kaiser Maximilians I.: Graphematisches Schreibsystem," BGDSL (Halle), 99 (1978), 36:

Die Orientierung an einem mittelhochdt. oder althochdt. Bezugssystem wäre unökonomisch, vor allem aber dem Gegenstand selbst nur grob angepaßt: dem Schreibteilnehmer der Zeit waren diese Bezugssysteme fremd, er orientierte sich an einem zwar historisch bedingten, aber synchron verstandenen Regelsystem.

304. Moser (note 7), p. 55.

305. Wolfgang Fleischer, Strukturelle Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Neuhighdeutschen, Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Vol. 112, No. 6, Berlin, 1966, p. 12.

306. Moser (note 7), p. 55.

307. Roberge (note 302), pp. 155-56.

308. Moser (note 7), pp. 85-86.

309. "Im Untersuchungsverfahren ist deshalb erstes Indiz der graphemischen Geltung von Zeichen die dis-tinktive Funktion auf der Schreibebene selbst" (note 7, p. 57); also see Moser (note 7), pp. 57-58; (note 303), p. 38.

310. Herbert Penzl, Lautsystem und Lautwandel in den althoch-deutschen Dialekten (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1971), p. 15:

Wir finden in jeder genügend durch Texte belegten und bekannten Sprache Laute, Formelemente (Morpheme), ferner Verbindungen dieser Elemente zu größeren Einheiten, die wir als Wörter, Wortgruppen, Sätze, Satzverbindungen bezeichnen. Die historische Sprachwissenschaft beschreibt diese Sprachlaute, Morpheme, Wortschatzeinheiten, syntaktischen Gebilde nichtzeitgenössischer Sprachstufen.

Selbst wenn die Beschreibung synchronisch bleibt, ist aber stets ein diachronisch definierbares Realitätsprinzip wirksam. Wir sprechen nur dann von historischer Lautlehre, historischer Formenlehre (Morphologie), historischer Syntax, historischer Lexikologie (Wortschatzkunde), wenn der Wandel, die Entwicklung oder der Ursprung entweder die Kriterien für die synchronische Beschreibung abgeben oder wenn die Darstellung überhaupt diachronisch ist.

311. This debate has centered on the methods used to determine graphemes. Of the Germanic linguists conducting graphemic research in the last twenty years, Ilpo Tapani Piirainen in his Graphematische Untersuchungen zum Frühneuhochdeutschen (Studia Linguistica Germanica, Vol. I; Berlin, 1968) has made the most rigorous attempt to develop a method in which graphemes are determined without reference to phonetic or phonemic parallels. His intention is to separate the purely graphemic phase of textual analysis from those that are not directly related to graphemics ("nicht-graphemgebunden") and establish graphemic research on a more objective, exact (i.e., statistical),

and reliable scientific basis (p. 20). He opposes the method of Karl Lachmann and his twentieth-century successors, who, he claims, ignore the graphemic level as a system and proceed directly to present the so-called phonetic values of the text (p. 21). In the statement that follows, Piirainen explains the advantages for historical linguistics of a non-phonemically-based graphemics. This orientation has provided the theoretical premise for critiques of more recent phonemically-based graphemic studies (consider the reviews by Roberge and Straßner [note 302], for example), but it has not resulted in a significant methodological shift among researchers who analyze written texts that are, after all, reflections of phonetic and phonemic systems.

So sehr die historische Sprachwissenschaft auch die Diachronie betont, kann die Graphemistik darüber hinaus ermöglichen, Vergleiche zwischen zwei Texten durchzuführen, die weder zeitlich, räumlich noch in irgend einer anderen Weise miteinander zusammenhängen. Ist das graphematische System der beiden Texte gleich dargestellt, so ist es irrelevant, wann, wo und wie die Texte entstanden sind. Wichtig ist allein, was in dem einen Text den Erscheinungen in dem anderen entspricht bzw. nicht entspricht. Würde dieses nicht auf der Basis der Graphemistik, sondern mit abgeleiteten phonematischen Werten geschehen, so wäre eine solche Forschung nicht mehr objektiv und als wissenschaftliche Arbeit unbrauchbar. (p. 24)

312. See Moser (note 303), p. 40.

313. Moser (note 7), p. 58; (note 303), p. 38. This diagram, which appears to present the development of graphemes, is somewhat confusing. The variants shown for the MHG and ENHG periods are characteristic of their respective contemporary writing systems, whether or not they are accurate phonetic spellings of the acoustic values they were intended to represent (one suspects, for example, that the ei written in Bavaria was pronounced [ɛi] and not [eɪ] in that region even during the MHG period); the variants shown for the modern period, however, are essentially phonetic spellings, which are found regularly only in the orthographies of such dialect poets as Hans Kloepfer; they are not characteristic of the hochdeutsche Rechtschreibung that is the dominant writing system in Bavaria today,

where the fit between the standard orthography and the Bavarian sounds it represents is now even worse than it was in the MHG period.

314. In considering Moser's findings I use his notational conventions: /slashes/ to indicate phonemes; <angle brackets> to indicate graphemes; a hyphen (-) to indicate oppositions; a tilde (~) to indicate neutralizations; and an arrow (→) to indicate the direction in which an opposition is suspended. Opposing arrows (← →) indicate that an opposition may be suspended in either direction. A broken arrow (↔) indicates that the regular suspension of an opposition only occurs in specific positions. In the text underlining is used to cite forms as they appear in the manuscripts. In the manuscript sample (appendix 2) underlining is used to distinguish my resolutions of scribal abbreviations from the alphabetic spellings otherwise written by the scribes. When citing forms from my own transcriptions in the text, I preserve the vocalic markers as they appear in the manuscripts (" is used for the frequent u-hook) but categorize the forms according to Moser's graphemic designations. For further explanation of my transcriptional practices, see appendix 2.

315. Moser (note 7), pp. 59-60.

316. Moser (note 7), pp. 62-63, 66-68. Moser refers here to the independent Reichskanzlei under Berthold von Mainz; the Reichskanzlei as it had existed under Frederick III (see chapter 2) continued largely unchanged until 1494.

317. These "doubles" are not reproduced in Moser's volume of texts.

318. Moser (note 7), pp. 63-65, 70-83, 198.

319. Moser (note 303).

320. Moser (note 7), p. 85:

Solche diakritische Zeichen wurden allerdings von vornherein weggelassen, wenn ihre graphemische Irrelevanz feststand: z.B. über y, ay, ey, ye, über dem u/w von au, aw, eu, ew. Sie sind in diesem Fall als verschiedene Typen eines Typems zu rechnen, das nur als eine Variant angeführt werden muß.

321. Moser (note 7), pp. 85-86, 106.

322. Moser (note 7), p. 136; (note 303), p. 40. This diagram and figure 3 present the general features of the Habsburg chancery orthography between 1490 and 1493. The relationships between the graphemes and their variants indicate dominant tendencies of the chancery writing system. As Moser is careful to show in his detailed development of this characterization, however, there are exceptions—in some cases isolated, in others frequent—to most of the patterns of usage indicated here. For Moser's discussion of individual graphemes see note 7, pp. 87-135.

323. Moser (note 303), pp. 40-41.

324. Moser (note 303), p. 41.

325. Moser (note 303), p. 41.

326. Moser (note 303), p. 42.

327. Moser (note 7), p. 139; (note 303), p. 42.

328. Moser (note 303), p. 43.

329. Moser (note 303), p. 43.

330. Moser (note 303), p. 44.

331. Moser (note 303), pp. 44-45.

332. Moser (note 303), p. 45.

333. Moser (note 7), pp. 160-63.

334. Moser (note 303), p. 45.

335. Moser (note 303), p. 46.

336. See Fleischer (note 305).

337. See note 310.

338. Penzl (note 310), pp. 14-19, 31. Also see Penzl's "Althochdeutsch /f/ und die Methoden der Lautbestimmung," ZMF, 31 (1964), 289.

339. Penzl (note 310), pp. 31-40.

340. Penzl (note 310), p. 14:

Die stetige Rücksichtnahme auf die Tatsachen der historischen Vergangenheit der Sprache, soweit sie erkennbar sind, charakterisiert die synchronische Beschreibung in der historischen Sprachwissenschaft. Eine philologisch genaue Interpretation der Texte,

die das einschlägige sprachliche, wirklich 'reale' Material darstellen, ist dabei nicht nur eine wertvolle Hilfe, sondern geradezu die Vorbedingung für die synchronische Analyse.

341. Penzl (note 310), p. 35.

342. Roberge (note 302), pp. 156-57.

343. Straßner (note 302), p. 77.

344. Even Piirainen, who argues explicitly for the determination of graphemes without reference to phonetic and phonemic parallels, begins his study with an undescribed "preanalytic phase" ("präanalytische Phase") in which he considers each graph to decide whether it is "functionally relevant" ("funktionell relevant") by itself or in combination with other graphs as a grapheme or variant (note 311, p. 20). He does not indicate on what non-phonetic, non-phonemic basis he makes these decisions so fundamental to the remainder of his investigation. And later in his introduction, after stating that his non-phonemically-based graphemic method will permit the comparison of any two texts, regardless of their historical relationship to each other, Piirainen nevertheless explains that he will compare the graphemic system he develops for the writings of Hans Krafft to "'Normal Middle High German'" ("das 'Normal-Mhd.'") as if the latter actually represented the MHG graphemes and even though it is based on phonemic values (note 311, pp. 24-25). Thus despite his theoretical protestations to the contrary, phonemic considerations seem to have intruded themselves into Piirainen's graphemic study at these two critical junctures.

345. See Tennant (note 130), pp. 74-91.

346. Moser (note 7), pp. 87-88.

347. See Tennant (note 130), pp. 89-91.

348. Roberge (note 302), p. 156.

349. See Moser (note 7), p. 191; and Hans Ried's copy of the Waldauf'scher Stiftbrief (appendix 2:[4]).

350. Roberge (note 302), pp. 156-57.

351. Moser (note 303), p. 46.

352. Moser (note 303), p. 47.

353. Moser (note 303), pp. 47-48.

354. Moser (note 304), p. 49. Although the individual scribes wrote their personal orthographies without much alteration, except in the level of formality, for all chancery purposes, Moser notes that Chancellor Serntein used the u-hook consistently as an umlaut marker in letters but not in drafts.

355. Moser (note 7), pp. 9, 40; (note 303), pp. 47, 49.

356. Moser (note 7), pp. 231-34; (note 303), p. 49.

357. Moser (note 303), p. 50.

358. Schönherr (note 290), pp. 358-64.

359. See appendix 2:[6], [7]; Innsbruck, TLA, Maximiliana XIV/1505, fol. 169; and Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 9b/2, fol. 160, for example.

360. Schönherr (note 290), p. 362.

361. Schönherr (note 290), p. 368.

362. Treytsaurwein is credited with having worked on the following texts, which are preserved in the manuscript collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna: Maximilian's Liber memorialis and Gedenkpüechel (MSS. 2900 and 7425.1); three Theuerdank texts (MSS. 2806, 2867, 2889); three Wei^ßkunig texts (MSS. 2892, 3032, 8145.3); two sets of notes relating to the Wei^ßkunig (MSS. 7326, 7425.2); and the Triumphwagen (MS. 8119).

363. Schönherr (note 290), pp. 368-69.

364. The index to the WMR includes references to individuals mentioned in Habsburg chancery documents and to those who served as endorsing agents for these materials. Treytsaurwein does not appear in the index until 1501; this reference is to the instruction awarding him landholdings that have reverted to Maximilian through the death of Kessler's widow (Innsbruck, TLA, Geschäft von Hof, 1501/II, fol. 40^v). The index first shows Treytsaurwein as the endorsing agent of a chancery document in 1504 (Innsbruck, TLA, Maximiliana XIV/1504, fol. 15).

365. Appendix 2:[6], [7], [8], [9], [11].

366. Since both of these documents were written while the Chancery was on the road, it is likely that Maximilian dictated them himself.

367. The texts are too brief to confirm all aspects of Moser's description.

368. See, for example: Innsbruck, TLA, Maximiliana XIV/1504, fol. 15; Innsbruck, TLA, Maximiliana XIV/1505, fol. 169; and Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 9b/2, fol. 160.

369. Clemens Biener, "Die Fassungen des Teuerdank," ZDA, 67 (1930), 177-78, 190.

370. Moser (note 7), pp. 134, 139; (note 303), p. 46.

371. Biener (note 369), p. 190. Treytsaurwein's drafts of the Weißenkunig, a prose work that Maximilian actually dictated in the chancery chambers, show even more clearly the scribe's penchant for chancery diction. See Clemens Biener, "Entstehungsgeschichte des Weißenkunigs," MIÖG, 44 (1930), 84 ff.

372. Martin Wierschin, "Das Ambraser Heldenbuch Maximilians I.," Der Schlern, 50 (1976), 429-44, 493-507, 557-70; and Helmut Weinacht, "Archivalien und Kommentare zu Hans Ried, dem Schreiber des Ambraser Heldenbuches," in Deutsche Heldenepik in Tirol, ed. Egon Kühebacher (Bolzano: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1979), pp. 466-89.

373. Wierschin (note 372), p. 499.

374. Weinacht (note 372), p. 483.

375. David Schönherr, "Der Schreiber des Heldenbuchs in der k. k. Ambraser Sammlung," Archiv für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Tirols, 1 (1864), 105-06.

376. Wierschin (note 372), p. 500; and Hermann Wiesflecker, Jugend, burgundisches Erbe und Römisches Königtum bis zur Alleinerrschaft, Vol. I of Kaiser Maximilian I. (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1971), pp. 73-74.

377. See Weinacht (note 372), pp. 472, 474, 482. This payment seems to have had a contemporary value of about sixteen florins. At this time the lowest salary paid an Imperial advisor was fifty florins and the leaders of the Innsbruck government (e.g., Paul von

Liechtenstain) were earning a thousand florins annually (Kohlweg [note 251], p. 34). In 1594 a cord of wood sold for nineteen florins in Vienna. See Dorothy Gies McGuigan, The Habsburgs (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1966), p. 414.

378. The other is the underwriting letter that he penned in 1514 when he resumed his duties as tariff collector on the Adige. See Weinacht (note 372), pp. 474, 480-81.

379. Wierschin (note 372), p. 500.

380. See Wieland Schmidt, "Florian Waldauf von Waldenstein," VL, 4 (1953), col. 769; and Ernst Verdroß-Droßberg, Florian Waldauf von Waldenstein, Schlern-Schriften, Vol. 184, Innsbruck, 1958.

381. Weinacht (note 372), pp. 473-77.

382. Franz Unterkircher, "Kommentar," Ambraser Heldenbuch, Codices selecti, Vol. 43, Graz, 1973, p. 6.

383. Weinacht (note 372), p. 477.

384. Unterkircher (note 382), "zu Regest Nr. 6"; and Weinacht (note 371), p. 478.

385. Weinacht (note 372), pp. 480-81.

386. Weinacht (note 372), pp. 481-82.

387. The index to the WMR includes a number of references to documents in which Ried is mentioned; these are listed and abstracted in Weinacht's essay (note 372). The only documents discovered to date that show Hans Ried as the endorsing agent, however, are the underwriting letters from 1500 and 1514.

388. The Stiftbrief consists of nineteen large folios.

389. An accurate graphemic analysis of the orthography of the Heldenbuch would, of course, require an examination of the entire codex. Because that is beyond the scope of the present investigation, I have compared the orthographic patterns of these excerpts to Thornton's (note 104) earlier findings.

390. See Moser (note 7), pp. 94-95; and Tennant (note 8), pp. 251-52.

391. Moser (note 7), p. 185.

392. In the Stiftbrief Ried frequently writes kh as a final variant of <k>; in Moser's sample this variant only occurs in word- and morpheme-initial position (note 7, p. 181).

393. Unterkircher's (note 382) and Wierschin's (note 372) essays review the surviving documentary evidence relating to the Heldenbuch project and offer thoughtful speculations about the sources of the codex.

394. Franz H. Bäuml, ed., Kudrun: Die Handschrift (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969), pp. 29-30.

395. See Bäuml (note 394), pp. 71, 130, 133, 148, 157, 179, 268, 293, 305, 336, 355, 395, 446, 482, 519-20. It is important to remember, however, that Ried was a professional penman, renowned for his calligraphic prowess, who regularly wrote both forms of the minuscule r himself. In the Stiftbrief as well as in the Heldenbuch, both occur in fairly free variation. It would be surprising, then, that Ried should have misread a character that was a regular feature of his own script unless one assumes that he copied the Kudrun text during the last two years of his life when his eyesight was failing.

396. See, for example, Ernst Crous and Joachim Kirchner, Die gotischen Schriftarten (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1928), pp. 15, 41-42; and pls. 3, 7-8, 13-14.

397. Thornton (note 104), pp. 62-82.

398. Kohlweg (note 251), pp. 2-4, 17.

399. Kohlweg (note 251), pp. 27-34, 40, 47-106 passim; and Tennant (note 99), pp. 263-64.

400. Seeliger (note 160), p. 90; Kohlweg (note 251), p. 122; and Tennant (note 99), pp. 263-65.

401. Kohlweg (note 251), pp. 47-129 passim; and Tennant (note 99), pp. 264-67.

402. Tennant (note 99), pp. 266, 272 ff.

403. Heinz Otto Burger, 'Dasein heißt eine Rolle Spielen' (Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1963), p. 24.

404. Tennant (note 99), pp. 272-79.

405. Tennant (note 99), pp. 273-74.

406. For the complete list see Tennant (note 99), pp. 268-69, n. 38.

407. These texts were compared graphemically to the Ziegler holographs: Innsbruck, TLA, Maximiliana XIV/1503, fols. 1-2; Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana Tb/l, fols. 1, 62-63; Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 9a/l, fol. 5; and Vienna, HHSA, Maximiliana 16/2, fol. 147.

408. Tennant (note 130), pp. 75-80, 86-90.

409. For the probable phonetic values of these spellings in specific ENHG orthographies, see Tennant (note 130), pp. 76, 78.

410. Tennant (note 99), pp. 270, 274.

411. Moser (note 303), p. 41.

412. Moser (note 303), pp. 48-49.

413. Fleischer (note 305), p. 9.

414. Tennant (note 99), p. 276, n. 44.

415. See Peter Diederichs, Kaiser Maximilian I. als politischer Publizist, Diss. Heidelberg 1931 (Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1932); and Tennant (note 99), p. 275.

416. Tennant (note 99), pp. 266-67. The fact that Ziegler translated directly from the Latin eliminates the possibility that the diction and orthography of the Edict derive from a German model.

417. On Weisse see Fleischer (note 305).

418. Gerhard Kettmann, Die kursächsische Kanzleisprache zwischen 1486 and 1546, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für deutsche Sprache und Literatur, Series B, Vol. 34, Berlin, 1967.

419. Norbert Richard Wolf, Regionale und Überregionale Norm im späten Mittelalter, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Germanistische Reihe, Vol. 3, Innsbruck, 1975, pp. 8, 16-18, 268 ff.

420. Wolf (note 419), pp. 8, 17-18.

421. Moser (note 7), pp. 242-44.

422. Noordijk (note 75), pp. 69-70; and Moser (note 7), p. 244.

423. Moser (note 7), pp. 257-59.

424. Moser (note 7), p. 246; and Wolf (note 419), pp. 56, 58, 165, 175.

425. Moser (note 7), p. 246; and Wolf (note 419), pp. 16, 193-94.

426. Kettmann (note 418), pp. 104-07, 113; and Moser (note 7), p. 247.

427. Moser (note 7), pp. 248-49; Kettmann (note 418), pp. 107-08; and Wolf (note 419), p. 220.

428. Kettmann (note 418), pp. 97-98, 107-08.

429. Moser (note 7), pp. 247, 250; (note 303), pp. 53-54; and Kettmann (note 418), pp. 96, 286.

430. Wolf (note 419), pp. 217-18; Fleischer (note 305), p. 24; and Kettmann (note 418), pp. 78, 101.

431. Fleischer (note 305), p. 27.

432. Moser (note 303), p. 42.

433. Wolf (note 419), pp. 218-19; and Kettmann (note 418), pp. 118-21.

434. Fleischer (note 305), pp. 36-37; and Wolf (note 419), pp. 225-26.

435. Fleischer (note 305), pp. 38, 43, 54. Cf. Wolf (note 419), pp. 225-26, 228-29, 238-39; and Kettmann (note 418), pp. 194, 209, 251.

436. Moser (note 7), pp. 114-16, 260-61; and Kettmann (note 418), p. 204.

437. Moser (note 7), pp. 257-58; and Kettmann (note 418), pp. 198-200, 242. Kettmann's study is not organized graphemically. To compare his data with Moser's I have used Moser's principle of selecting the most frequent variant as the graphemic designation. Thus the dental affricate in the Electoral orthography is <z>, although Kettmann also records the variants cz, t, tz, and zc.

438. Moser (note 7), p. 253; Noordijk (note 75), p. 69; and Kettmann (note 418), p. 85.

439. Noordijk (note 75), p. 75; Moser (note 7), pp. 266-67; Wolf (note 419), p. 228; Fleischer (note 305), p. 44; and Kettmann (note 418), pp. 219-20.

440. Moser (note 7), pp. 267-68; Wolf (note 419), pp. 217-19, 222-26, 228; and Fleischer (note 305), pp. 44-45.

441. Moser (note 7), pp. 264-66; and Kettmann (note 418), pp. 181-82.

442. Moser (note 303), pp. 52-54.

443. Kettmann (note 418), pp. 78, 101.

444. Moser (note 7), p. 85; and Kettmann (note 418), p. 286.

445. Moser (note 303), p. 53.

446. Ickelsamer, for example, in his discussion of "Cacographia" quoted in the introduction to this chapter, objects to the arbitrary addition of certain extra letters to words not requiring them. One such letter is e, and as incorrect forms he cites sieben and viesch. In neither of these forms is the root vowel a reflex of the MHG diphthong /ie/, and the ie-spellings of these words would not have been typical in either the UG or the EMG orthographies of the day. The spellings are, as Ickelsamer indicates, mistakes. In citing them he is drawing attention to the misspelling of a short vowel, but his remarks are apparently isolated perceptions and not part of a consistent system for indicating vocalic length orthographically. In neither of his grammatical treatises does he address the subject of vocalic length as such, nor does he include ie in his catalog of diphthongs. See Tennant (note 130), pp. 74-77.

447. In this regard consider Fabian Frangk; see Tennant (note 130), pp. 84-85.

448. Moser (note 303), p. 53.

449. See Tennant (note 130), pp. 69-70, 75, 78-80, 84-87.

450. Kettmann (note 418), pp. 118-21.

451. Moser (note 303), p. 52.

452. Moser (note 7), p. 261; Kettmann (note 418), pp. 192-98.

453. Moser (note 7), p. 185; Kettmann (note 418), pp. 133-34, 194, 209, 251.

454. Moser (note 303), p. 42; Kettmann (note 418), pp. 242-43.

455. Kettmann (note 418), pp. 219-20, 224-26.

456. Also see Kettmann's comparison of the Electoral chancery language with the southern orthographic tradition (note 418, pp. 289 f.).

457. Kettmann (note 418), pp. 289-90.

458. Moser (note 7), pp. 262-63, 279

459. See among others Adolf Socin (note 44), pp. 169-71; Werner Besch, "Zur Entstehung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache," ZDP, 87 (1968), 425-26; and Klaus J. Mattheier, "Wege und Umwege zur neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache," ZGL, 9 (1981), 274-84.

460. Moser (note 303), p. 52.

461. See Mattheier (note 459), p. 280.

CONCLUSION

462. Eggers (note 4), p. 187. Eggers' complete statement is quoted in "'Gemeines Deutsch' in the Handbook Accounts," chapter 1.

463. See Mattheier (note 459), pp. 284 f., esp. pp. 300-03.

464. Fabian Frangk, for example, recommends Maximilian's chancery language in his Orthographia, but elsewhere in the same treatise speaks against the vocalism that the writing system features. See Tennant (note 130), p. 83.

465. Moser (note 303), p. 45.

466. Moser (note 303), pp. 51-52.

467. See Mattheier (note 459), pp. 292-303.

APPENDIX 2

468. On the practice and theory of vocalic marking in ENHG texts see Tennant (note 130).

469. Bäuml's edition of the Kudrun text from the Ambraser Heldenbuch (note 394) provides a diplomatic transcription of one of the literary texts penned by Hans Ried and detailed description of its paleographic features.

470. See Bäuml (note 394), pp. 29-30, and the discussion in chapter 3 of Hans Ried's scribal usage.

471. Consider, for example, Johann Kolroß' discussion of the letter s in his 1530 Enchiridion. See Müller (note 70), pp. 74-75.

472. This pattern corresponds to the usage Moser identified in his chancery sample. See his detailed analysis of this feature (note 7, pp. 117-22).

473. Bäuml calls this s the final or "schluß" s of the German Kurrentschrift (note 394, p. 30).

474. Consider, for example, two fair copies, one dated 1498 September 20 Innsbruck, the other 1500 August 15 Augsburg, that are preserved in the Allgemeine Urkundenreihe, HHSA, Vienna.

475. Bäuml calls this s the round or "rundes" s (note 394, p. 30).

476. Moser identifies only two of the three minuscule s-graphs; his discussion does not include the short s.

477. "Wir gehen davon aus, daß zwischen breitem und schmalen s-Laut eine phonologische Opposition besteht, die graphemisch nur partiell realisiert wird" (note 7, p. 117).

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